AKWESASNE NOTES

Volume 7, Number 5

Early Winter, 1975

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

A SPECIAL ISSUE

on the Conspiracy
to Repress Human Rights
in North America:
The Pentagon vs. Pine Ridge
CIA vs. AIM
U.S. vs. Native People

and
A Challenge to
Christian Churches:
Where Will They Be
When Rome Falls?

also:
Mapuches in Chile
Poetry & Letters

while, now would be a good
NOTES for calendars or
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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

A JOINTLY-SPONSORED ISSUE WITH "IFCO NEWS" OF THE INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, INC.

HOW IT IS WITH U.S.

Since the arrival of Columbus, native people have been engaged in a struggle for human rights, a struggle to keep this land good. They have had to wage that struggle with little assistance. Still in 1975 the struggle goes on – but this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES contains chilling warnings of how desperate, deceptive, and destructive that struggle is becoming.

On December 4, while we were writing the articles in this issue on the Pentagon, CIA, FBI and vested interests conspiring dangerously to maintain the status quo, the shocking report came that six persons closely associated with AKWESASNE NOTES had been arrested by the FBI-trained SWAT squad of the Quebec Police Force [QPF].

To understand the situation that developed, an understanding of Akwesasne geography is essential. To the Mohawks, Akwesasne is one solid area of land. The St. Lawrence River flows through it, and part of the Akwesasne Mohawk lands are islands in the river. When the British people quarrelled in 1775, it was necessary for them to draw a line between themselves and that line followed for a ways the 45th parallel of latitude to the point where it intersects the St. Lawrence River – which means that the International Boundary runs through the center of the small 36,000-acre reservation. The border cuts through a peninsula sticking out into the river, leaving one 800-acre section of land claimed by Canada inaccessible to other land areas except by travel through the United States. However, there is no customs house at that point, and Mohawks and others travel freely into the village and back again. To make matters worse, the boundary between Quebec and Ontario runs through the reservation from north to south, meaning that the once-solid Mohawk land is now cut into conflicting jurisdictions of Ontario, Quebec, New York, Canada and the United States, many of whom refuse to acknowledge the existence of the other portions of the reservation.

AKWESASNE NOTES

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanesatake.

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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page – check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

This month is is Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, and Massachusetts that gets tagged, plus the Maritime Provinces of Canada and a few European nations.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

Two weeks prior to December 4, a fire in St. Regis Village, claimed by Quebec, had gutted the house used by the Canadian Government's "Indian Police" as a headquarters. The fire had come after a raucous night in which a young Mohawk, obviously having too much to drink, pulled up behind an Indian police-car and proceeded to shove it a long distance at high speeds from its parking place othe side of the reservation claimed by New York into St. Regis Village, across the border. After a chase, he was later arrested by New York State Troopers, who handcuffed him and hauled him unceremoniously back across the border to appear before a New York State justice of the peace. Needless to say, this intrusion into what Canada has always considered her "sovereign soil" was without legal process, and passed by the ordinarily-alert opposition members of Parliament unnoticed.

While the police were away on that call, however, a group of angry youths proceeded to torch the police station and smash the cars of the officers involved.

Alvin Jock an 18-year-old slightly-built youth who lives with his parents on the "New York State side" of the reservation, had driven over to St. Regis village on December 4. His vehicle was halted by an Indian policeman, Eric Seymour, accompanied by a Quebec policeman. They said they were "taking him in for questioning. Jock says he told the officers he wouldn't go unless they had a warrant, and that the officers dragged him out of his car, clubbing him about the head, and took him to the community center's temporary "police station" "for questioning"

Witnesses called Alvin's parents, who were working with a few friends putting up a ceiling at their place. They sped to the scene, only to meet the police about to take Alvin 60 miles away to their detachment in Huntington, Quebec. "You can't take him without a warrant!" his mother, Ann Jock, said. [A few years ago, there was a photo essay in AKWESASNE NOTES about the Indian Way School operated by the Jock family at Akwesasne. She and her husband, Edgar, and their children have travelled with White Roots of Peace, and continue to work closely with NOTES affairs.]

The police retreated back into the community hall, barricading the doors. The family waited outside, presuming the police were calling for a warrant. Once, when they heard the sounds of scuffling, they called to their handcuffed son. He replied, "They're throwing me around." They tried, unsuccessfully, to gain access to him, but apparently police stopped hassling him.

Soon, the tiny group turned to see a caravan of over a dozen QPF cars full of riot-geared police, backed up by another dozen or more cars of New York State troopers drive to the community center about 100 yards away from the border.

The police had clubs and automatic weapons, and although they spoke French, they acted like their Los Angeles [illegible] Quebec and Los Angeles [illegible]. Quebec sought such [illegible] Olympic Games to be [illegible] coordination with the [illegible] make the spine of a [illegible]ingle – they are in closer touch, it would seem, with the American police than they are with their own people.

Aside from some roughing up, there was no trouble, and Edgar Jock, Ann Jock, their son, Raosennawane, and friends Dean George and John Boots were handcuffed and hauled off, taken back across the border into New York State, and then 20 miles further, taken back into Canada to the French-speaking community of Valleyfield, about 50 miles from the reservation.

Altogether about 80 QPF officers came to the scene. Following standard operating SWAT procedures, a news blackout was established, and press releases were made immediately by police to cover their behavior.

"The drama in St. Regis Village is over," the radio announced proudly. "80 Quebec Police Force officers have successfully rescued two of their officers who were being held hostage by a mob of armed Indians rioting at St. Regis Reservation." Later, describing the burning of the police house, the area newspapers hinted darkly that those arrested were suspected of arson, and were part of a faction which "didn't want to have anything to do with the white man", implying the traditional people.

Boots was released about midnight that night, but the four Jocks and George were held until the following morning. At a hearing, the French judge refused to set bail, and the group was held for three days until at another hearing, they were released in custody of the chiefs of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne.

Alvin, however, continues to be held without bail as a "danger to society" He faces 56 years in prison if found guilty, a longer sentence than if he had committed murder. While he maintains his innocence, the youths who were involved have been so intimidated by the SWAT-squad scene that they hesitate to come forward. The police, however, need to obtain his conviction in order to justify their actions. Trials will be held on January 23 and February 25.

Treaties for the Akwesasne lands have never been signed, and the land in question has never been ceded. The Government of Canada refers to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 as the foundation for the title to the land – it says "that the Indians will remain undisturbed in their lands not having been ceded to us." An ordinary reading of that would indicate that the Quebec police do not have jurisdiction in that area.

Mohawks say that if a family of white people had been arrested in that manner while simply visiting for a few hours in Canada, there would be stiff diplomatic protests. But the U.S not only didn't protest – the Canadian police were actually escorted through the United States by New York police.

Persons interested in helping with funds for the legal defense of the Jock family and others arrested, and in the possible filing of a civil suit to recover damages, can send their contributions to the:

Akwesasne Legal Defense/Offense
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

Persons wishing to protest the arrest and to demand that Alvin Jock be released while awaiting trial should call, wire, or write:

Premier Robert Bourassa
Government of Quebec
Quebec City, Quebec

One of a Series of Events Here

While these arrests seem targeted at traditional people who stand up for their sovereignty rather than at AKWESASNE NOTES, there has been an unusual amount of police activity connected with the newspaper. In September, a squad of club-wielding New York State troopers invaded the newspaper offices to conduct a search for a person they were seeking in an offense committed days earlier. That person has no association with the newspaper and only occasionally comes in as a visitor, and the police were unsuccessful in their search. Sgt. Dick Shinnock, who led the search,

Ann Jock . . . Jailed and Charged

said that they didn't require a warrant, and that they could go to any house in the state, kick in the doors, and conduct a search anytime they wanted. So much for the U.S. Constitution.

Then there is the matter of Claus Biegert, a visitor from Germany. He was picked up by the border patrol in the nearby town of Malone and detained for suspected immigration problems. However, after a number of hours, they found that his visa was perfectly in order. But during his detention, they found his address book, which they carefully checked out, and in finding that a list of books which he intended to purchase from NOTES at a later date included the historical study, "Iroquois In The American Revolution" published by Syracuse University Press, felt it was a matter for the FBI and he was kept in the Franklin County Jail overnight until he could be questioned. He was released without charges being filed.

Another visitor from Boston was pulled over for "bald tires". The arresting officer found a small piece of bark in his glove compartment, which he said might be peyote. But satisfied that the car didn't contain machine guns and dynamite, and needing only a court hearing to protect himself from false arrest suits, he had the visitor fined a very nominal $10 for illegal possession of peyote by an obliging justice of the peace.

Juan Reyna was hitch-hiking one day when he was picked up by two hunters. They conversed for a while when he was asked if he spoke Spanish. When he said yes, one of the hunters pulled out his badge – "Border Patrol". He questioned Reyna about the whereabouts of his mother and father, went through his papers and implied they were falsified – "You could have had these printed up anyplace." When Reyna asked to be let out of the vehicle, the officer refused to stop the car. Eventually, after the questioning was completed, he was released, and the two hunters proceeded on their way.

So that's how it is with us. Read on about the other things going on all over this land, and then let us know how it is with you.

A SPECIAL NOTICE TO IFCO NEWS SUBSCRIBERS ABOUT AKWESASNE NOTES

This issue of AKWESASNE NOTES is also an issue of "IFCO News", the newsletter of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization [IFCO]. It has been prepared, as usual, by the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES, but it is being sent to the IFCO mailing list as well.

IFCO is a church and community agency whose mission is to help forward the struggles of oppressed people for justice and self-determination. It pursues this mission as a renewal of the church's witness in a variety of programs and activities, including grants, distribution of educational materials, field service. It describes its work as a "continuing commitment to our family, some of whom are living, many of whom are dead, and most of whom are yet unborn."

AKWESASNE NOTES is grateful to IFCO for their cooperation, and for the fact that IFCO had sufficient trust in our perspective to allow us to publish this special issue of their newsletter on the situation of native peoples without exercising any control over its content.

A LETTER FROM ANN DOUGLAS TO IFCO NEWS READERS

[This letter is from Ann Douglas, IFCO director, to readers of IFCO News.]

We are very pleased to be sharing this issue of IFCO News *with our friends at AKWESASNE NOTES.*

We believe AKWESASNE NOTES is one of the most informative and accurate newspapers in the U.S.A.

We would also ask your continued support of IFCO with your lifestyle and your dollars. There is less and less support from big foundations and churches, so the people have to support their own important institutions.

It's a good way to start the New Year.

We would urge IFCO people to send support for AKWESASNE NOTES. The people there work as a collective as volunteers. Some of them are working at farming and raising food for the others, returning to the traditional Mohawk dependency on Mother Earth.

– Ann Douglas

A SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT FROM IFCO ABOUT A SUMMER CONFERENCE

IFCO is planning a meeting of about 1,000 community-organizing groups for the summer of 1976 in New York. Some groups receiving IFCO support have asked it to expand its annual "project conference" to a much broader national meeting of groups organizing to bring about change in the current system of things.

IFCO hopes many people will come from different types of organizations to share ideas, strategies, and resources. People on the streets and in the communities need to meet those doing research and legislation.

The conference will be held when the Bicentennial celebrations are nearly over. By then, IFCO believes, everything and everybody will have been exploited, but the hard analysis and hard organizing that needs to be done will still need to be done.

"People looking at our country from almost any angle are more and more in agreement that something is drastically wrong," an IFCO statement says. A growing number of organizations, theologians, consumer groups, rural groups, treaty rights groups, community groups, people concerned about education and labor, are pulling themselves together for the task ahead."

Believing that such groups have a lot to offer each other, IFCO is hoping for leadership responsibility to emerge to bring the various groups together to discuss major issues and think through plans and strategies.

The initial steering committee has recommended that the conference deal with two major topics – the economy and the repression. They have also recommended small satellite sessions concerned with specific organizing efforts such as treaty rights, tenant rights, prison support, revenue-sharing, farm-labor issues, work-place organizing, cooperative farming, land-reform, tax reform, welfare rights, education, etc. Times will be set aside for sharing films, books, publications, and technical resources.

Study papers will be prepared ahead of the conference. Basic documents on the economy and the current repression will be submitted. Responses from organizations on how these issues affect them will be submitted before the conference.

IFCO is asking interested groups and agencies to respond to this announcement by:

– sending ideas as to whether the conference is supported or not.

– considering the possibility of a small amount of financial support for this effort from various denominations, foundations, or organizations.

– sending names and addresses of people and groups who should participate in the event.

Contact:
Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing,
475 Riverside Drive Room 560
New York, New York 10027
telephone (212) 870-3151

OUR COVER

Our cover artist is William Sauts Netamuxwe Bock, a noted book illustrator, named by the Lenapes for his unique Lenape coloring book and other writings and illustrations about native people. We are grateful to him for his sketch, and we invite other artists to submit their sharings for our front page.

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Mickey Posluns, Kanaweienton, Juan Reyna, Jayne George, Rokwaho, Susie Boots, Colleen, Peter Blue Cloud, Sarah, Kahonhes, Francis & Katsi, Steve Sampson, Karonhianoron, Ateronhiatakon, Red Dog, Phyllis, Jackie, Ray, Raotennawane, Wenniserlio and many more.

We are very grateful to all our friends who have sent us books, magazines, documents, and equipment of value to enable us to do our work. As full-time volunteers, we are not able to maintain ourselves fully, and help we receive helps us to live and survive. The material aid is not only indicative of the political and moral support we receive from friends in nations all over the world, but it gives us the strength and encouragement to continue our task.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS ISSUE

Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and is also helps to finance future issues. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group, for example. For $25, a 100 families could each receive a copy. Write:

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

Just write to us – we'll add your name to our mailing list. There is no fixed subscription rate, but this does not mean that the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs well over $5,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add over $2,000 more – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, governments domestic or foreign, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers like yourself – people who want to see the paper get out another issue. Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it – and if you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that. This is the way of the natural world – keep it alive.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

URGENT NOTICE: Because of this special issue, much vital news was omitted – the events with the Menominees, strip-mining and "white-rights" problems in Montana, the pipeline in Alaska, civil rights hearings in the Southwest, as well as usual features such as book reviews and more letters and poetry. We hope to publish another issue within a month – funds permitting. So – if you haven't contributed for a while, now would be a good time. If you owe NOTES for calendars or books, please pay promptly. If you can sell copies of this issue, please do. We hope you'll be seeing another issue in January – if not, see you in March. The Staff.

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BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print – numbers 3, 4, and 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3,4,5,6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) has had five issues, including this one, the last of the volume. All are still available. This is the 48th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for $6 50 – that will be fourteen or fifteen as supplies hold.

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

– linoleum
– pails
– animal hides
– snowshoes, toboggans, sleds
– maple syrup-making equipment
– tree-trimming saws
– a recent encyclopedia
– a treadle sewing maching
– a dehumidifier
– a mouse-catching snake

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways – responsibilities, actually – readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

– take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

– send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Pittsburg? Detroit? Minneapolis? Lincoln? Albuquerque? Denver? Seattle? Edmonton? Winnipeg? Australia?

– send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

– take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

– send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

– sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

– let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

– Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

– form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared – and to you all, we are grateful.

CORRECTION: In the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, an article on the native delegation at the International Women's Year meetings in Mexico City was not credited to the author. We are grateful to Ann Durham for her analysis and reporting for AKWESASNE NOTES.

Bringing Vietnam Home

AN INTRODUCTION TO THIS SPECIAL 20-PAGE SECTION

[For years now, AKWESASNE NOTES has been pushing the viewpoint that the situations involving native peoples are urgent, desperate – and vital to all peoples. Well-intentioned liberal non-Indians have wanted to do their thing to "help the Indians", when we believed they should have seen the struggle of native peoples is the human struggle in which all peoples should be involved.

[It's easy to blame the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the problems. But in this issue, it seems that the Pentagon, CIA, FBI, John Birch Society, the Mafia, and institutionalized Christian racism are part of the onslaught, with the BIA in front as the paper tiger. This special section tries to paint the general context – the operating plan – which affects the human beings living in North America generally, and then shows how it manifests with native people.

[Native people, being the closest to the land, and the closest to their original instructions, are thus simultaneously prime targets, and tough targets. They are the first to be attacked, and the toughest to pick off. However, if enough people come to their aid by dealing with the root-source of their problems, the forces of oppression and exploitation can be nipped in the bud and left to wither and die.

[Frankly, we were frightened by what we discovered in researching and gathering the facts for this special section – not frightened by what might happen to us, but frightened by what we had seen.

[It is our hope that this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be widely studied, discussed, and distributed. Extra copies are available. Now that the head of the serpent is visible, we struggle to regain control over our minds. The big question is – now that the people know, what will the people do?

The Editors

Like the war in Vietnam, the civil war in the 20th Century United States is being conducted unannounced and largely in secret. People in New York do not know what is happening in Harlem, let alone Pine Ridge.

The full extent of the government/military surveillance and control systems is only now becoming fully apparent. Four years ago, Senator Sam Ervin's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights revealed that Military Intelligence had established an intricate surveillance system covering hundreds of thousands of U.S. residents. Committee staff members had seen a master plan – "Garden Plot" – which gave an eagle-eye view of the Army/National Guard/ police strategy, the plan seemed too general to seem alarming.

"It looked like an aimless kind of thing," says Britt Snider of the Subcommittee's staff. A report was finally issued condemning the Pentagon's monitoring of the "peaceful activities of non-violent citizens" whose only offense was to "stand up on their hind legs and exercise the rights they thought the Constitution guaranteed."

Now, however, Ron Ridenhour, the journalist who uncovered the My Lai massacre cover-up, has made a new uncovering of one subplan to the Garden Plot, a program known as "Cable Splicer." Details of it were published in a copyrighted article in *New Times*, an alternate newspaper in Arizona. The Fund for Investigative Journalism of Washington, D.C., and another *New Times* magazine in New York aided Ridenhour's excellent reporting task. [Send $1 for a copy of Ridenhour's 14-page newspaper article to *New Times*, POBox J, Tempe, Arizona 85281.]

Cable Splicer covers only California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona under the command of the Sixth Army. It outlines extraordinary police and military procedures to stamp out unrest in this country. The tactics it describes are already far advanced in Indian Country – in fact, there is some evidence that Indian Country has been used as testing sites and maneuvers.

Developed in a series of meetings, Cable Splicer is a war plan, adopting numerous procedures refined from Vietnam for American conditions. Cable Splicer is contained in six loose-leaf binders holding several thousand pages of documents, revealing the shape of the monster the Ervin Committee was trying to track down.

The secrecy of Cable Splicer over the years demonstrates a high degree of cooperation and consent by police and military officials, as well as the ability to coordinate extremely sophisticated joint police-military operations beyond the reach of both legislative and judicial control. Cable Splicer operations have been accompanied by extremely inflamatory racist right-wing rhetoric.

Additional references are made to the use of shotguns, delivery of riot control agents with grenade launchers, curfews, cordons, barricades, tactical riot squads, quick-strike forces, helicopters, and much more.

Commanders are urged to impress the "populace that a disciplined force means business." To that end, "saturation of areas with police and military patrols" is urged, a technique reminiscent of the search and destroy infantry tactics used in Vietnam [and Pine Ridge '75].

the small society
I FEEL SO SORRY FOR THE INDIANS –
THEY'VE BEEN MADE COMPLETE WARDS OF THE GOVERNMENT –
EVERY-BODY IS AN INDIAN –
BRICKMAN

As one California police chief who was not impressed with the training described it, "Army. Navy. Air Force. Military Intelligence. Cops. Damn near every police chief and sheriff in California was there and some from out of state. They gave speeches for two days. Telling us all about how the revolution was coming, already started in fact. About how police would have to be the first line of defense until the Army could move in and take over. About how we should be getting ready now, while there was still time. Getting intelligence on who the leaders were, what they did, and everything else. They even had half a day of SWAT team demonstrations, bomb teams, people assaulting buildings, things like that. I'd never even heard of SWAT before. Seemed crazy to me. Wasn't no revolution going on where I was from."

Cable Splicer is actually a war game which has been preparing tens of thousands of officials since 1968. In the games, officials received pieces of paper telling them where to go, when to get there, what to do once they arrived, how to do it, who they were to answer to while they were doing it, who in turn answered to them, and even what to wear and what kind of transportation to use.

Nearly 6,000 persons took part in the four western states in 1970 alone. No one on the outside knows for sure how many of them there were or still are, but according to Colonel Zane Kortum, deputy director of the Directorate of Military Support (DOMS) in the Pentagon, "all states were encouraged to use the Cable Splicer technique for training purposes."

States which comply receive extra funds from DOMS –

95% of California's $100-million National Guard budget for 1975 came from the Pentagon, for instance.

One element of the overall program has been to secretly train a "nucleus" of high-level military and law enforcement personnel "at all levels of government" to be "conversant with the doctrine, tactics, etc., of each other."

Some of the "games" pitted police and federal forces against selected segments of the society, like blacks or Indians.

The Garden Plot started after the wave of urban disturbances in the late 1960s. After 43 persons were killed in Detroit and 5,000 were left homeless as the black ghetto erupted there, President Lyndon Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Acting on the report of that commission, the Pentagon undertook a five-pronged approach to solving the "civil disturbance problem".

First, Military Intelligence, working with FBI, local, county, and state police forces – undertook and directed a massive domestic intelligence gathering operation. Some undercover men have already confessed to spying on such Indian groups as Survival of American Indians Association in the Pacific Northwest.

Second, the Pentagon began to train senior military, national guard, police officers and others in a special civil disturbance training course called "Senior Officers Civil Disturbance Course" [SEADOC] at the Military Police Academy at Fort Gordon, Georgia. BIA police have had similar training in Texas.

Contingency plans, called "planning packets" were prepared for every community in the country that had a potential for student, labor, or minority unrest. Using the National Guard's annual training exercises as a cover, security forces ranging from Army troops to local police were trained to implement their particular contingency plan.

In the Pentagon, the Directorate of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations became a national coordinating center. It has a headquarters in the Pentagon's basement known as "the domestic war room" with a full-time staff of 180 persons including around-the-clock "watch teams", using teletype, telephone, and radio to keep in constant communication around the nation. Seven Army infantry brigades totalling 21,000 troops are available for riot duty, and a huge sophisticated computer center keeps track of all public outbursts of political dissent. The computerized files included the celebrated and the obscure, ranging from Senator George McGovern to John Jones-types who had become associated, sometimes unknowingly, with "known militant groups."

All of this developed because people in charge of the police, the military, and the intelligence community and big business came to agree that the Revolution was on. To defeat it and to defend "The American Way", they decided to bring home to the United States the military and paramilitary mechanisms they had used elsewhere in the world.

Anyone who dared oppose social conditions at home, like the native people have been doing for so long, were branded "revolutionary". These people became the counter-revolution's targets, and in time, its victims. Any level of force necessary for the "control forces" to prevail is planned for and considered legitimate, although the tactics of "non-violent warfare" through disruption, division, pre-emption, cooptation, and intimidation are preferred.

That the war could have been brought home and yet remained secret in the face of over five years of almost constant congressional investigation is testimony to the fervor of its proponents and the seriousness of their commitment.

Its exercise against native people in 1975 is still almost unknown throughout the United States.

But the massive police-military joint planning and operations cannot be called a plot or be dismissed as merely the ravings of a few coup-d'etat-crazed colonels and their flipped-out Minuteman supporters. It is far too massive, involves far too many people in far too many official positions. Its implementation has been and remains far too much a matter of official policy – secret official policy.

It is participated in and known about by thousands of elected and appointed officials, career civil servants, and soldiers at every level of government all over the land. It seems inconceivable. Yet it goes on, even now, under our very noses.

Its method has been to hamper the rights of any citizen who dared stand on his or her hind legs and challenge the status quo. It touches us all. Its presence and the weight of its hand grows heavier with each passing day.

Cable Splicer's seeds produced military police training specializing in political indoctrination, SWAT training, and the development of a corp of police and military officers with common doctrines, experiences, an intimate knowledge of each others' organizations, and one very special skill – the imposition of "martial rule."

Perhaps most importantly, Cable Splicer's war games were used to spread the doctrine that the revolution was at hand, that the war had come home, and that martial law might indeed be the only way to save the nation.

If the "revolution" was to be successfully fought, then local and county police forces, the first line of defense, would have to become proficient in military organization and procedure. Creating a corps of police and military senior officials conversant with each others' operations was one of the primary goals of Cable Splicer and subsequent programs.

The types of force contemplated are frighteningly similar to those employed in Vietnam – as is the rationale to justify their use. It is the same "policy of engagement" – respond with the minimum force necessary to 1) overwhelm the "opposing force", and 2) demonstrate that as much force as necessary will be used.

Included in the exercises, for instance, were not only military police and infantry units, but heavy artillery, armor, chemical, psychological warfare, and tactical air support units as well.

There is talk of "the value of armored vehicles" for their "psychological impact". Special consideration is recommended for "coordination of searchlight equipped observation helicopters with ground patrols to insure complete coverage day and night." [Remember Wounded Knee?]

As this organization began to develop, it started Cable-Splicer-type games to organize and educate its forces. According to Ron Ridenhour, on the morning scheduled for a "game", controllers, players, monitors and observers gathered in an "emergency operations center", usually the radio room of the county sheriff or a National Guard armory.

Among the participants would be senior National Guard officers, Army advisors, senior police and sheriff's officers, telephone and utility company executives. Following strict orders, the soldiers always wore civilian clothes and took all precautions to disguise the military's cooperation with the police.

Over a thousand preplanned intelligence reports on people and organizations, carefully pasted to IBM cards, are on hand to help generate the make-believe war. The players listen to a special intelligence summary, learning the background, for instance, of an imaginary disturbance on a reservation or in a city. The controllers then begin play, feeding the reports on the IBM cards describing dissident activity. Seated at telephones, the players respond to the unfolding scenario, playing the role of being the thin blue line standing between order and anarchy.

After the game, there is after action analysis and specific needs for further training are detailed.

SWAT squads have undergone similar training at the school at San Luis Obispo, California. One California police official, begging anonymity, is quoted by Ridenhour as calling SWAT "the outlaws of the police." They are commandos. At San Luis Obispo, the name SWAT, with its unpleasant connotations, has been replaced by the more antiseptic "SERT" – Special Emergency Reaction Team.

SERT officers are the triggermen, the enforcers, for their higher-level colleagues who study at the same academy. They are taught not only how to act on the streets, but how to defend their actions in a courtroom. For instance, SERT trainees read two examples of testimony by a police-officer who has choked a prisoner. The first explanation makes the act defensible, the other leaves the officer guilty.

SEADOC and similar training programs are funded by LEAA grants.

Even conservative congressman Claire Burgener of California shakes his head in disbelief when he thinks of Cable Splicer. "I've read *Seven Days in May* and all those scare books, and . . ." He hesitates, searching for words. "And they're scary!" After he read the game plans, he commented, "This is what I call subversive."

Chief counsel Doug Lee of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights said the Cable Splicer documents were "unbelievable". "We're the enemy! This is civil war they've been talking about. Half the country has been designated as the enemy!"

Britt Snider, who is now with Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Intelligence, observes about Cable Splicer, "If there ever was a model for a takeover, this is it."

Officials addressing Cable Splicer trainees consider anyone who attacks the government, even verbally, as the enemy. University administrators who demur at giving the police free rein on the campuses are the enemy. So are legislators who investigate police actions. Demonstrators are "enemies of society", the "Vandals, Visigoths, and Huns of the 20th Century". "They are the enemy and they will be destroyed," one official proclaimed.

Some reservations are not quiet these days, and Cable-Splicer-type operations are going on there now. The streets in U.S. cities seem quiet these days, but the Pentagon will not be caught napping. A new generation of enforcers,gaining lots of experience through dealing with the Indians, are just waiting for the "revolution" that they have been taught to recognize and trained to crush.

Chief of Police Vic Cizanckas of Menlo Park, California, sums it all up when he states that "there are some cops who want to solve all the world's problems with an M-16. Some of these men have lost perspective of their role in society and are playing mental games with firearms."

The lesson should be clear from reading the inscription at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. It tells how the army units there to tame the Indians moved on from that base to deal with Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and others – and now Cable Splicer.

It keeps getting closer and closer to home, a monster created to eat the flesh of others, who continues on to eat his own.

[A well-documented book, *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of the U.S. Police* draws information together showing the development of the U.S. police from night watchmen to a modern paramilitary organization. The book shows that the transformation of the police is directly linked to the development of capitalism, class conflict, and racial oppression. It is 192 pages, paperback, and available for $3.25 postpaid from Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 2490 Channing Way, Room 507, Berkeley, California 94704.]

IS THE FREE PRESS FREE?

[In the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there was an article on the way in which the media had distorted the events surrounding the deaths of the two FBI agents at Oglala on June 26. With new information now available about Cable Splicer manipulation of the press, we can again examine the journalism coverage of those deaths. Cable Splicer details extensive press-media operational plans, and similar training is given at both the SEADOC and CST1 "civil disturbance control courses".]

SD Reservation Ambush

2 FBI Agents 'Executed'

OGLALA, S.D. (UPI) – TWO FBI AGENTS WERE AMBUSHED AND KILLED WITH REPEATED BLASTS OF GUNFIRE THURSDAY IN AN OUTBREAK OF BLOODSHED APPEARING TO STEM FROM THE 1973 OCCUPATION OF WOUNDED KNEE.

This dispatch, inflamatory, distorted, and inaccurate, was the world's first signal last summer that violence had again flared-up between federal agents and American Indians. Based on information supplied by "official government sources", it is one of the more dramatic examples of American journalism's gullibility, a lingering professional condition that remains an easy target for the kind of government manipulation outlined in Cable Splicer.

[As it turned out, there was no ambush, agents were not shot by repeated blasts, but each had three wounds, two of which may have occurred after their death. The agents bodies were not "stripped" as originally reported, they were not dragged from their car and "executed", they had not gone to serve arrest warrants, but rather to conduct searches without search warrants. Finally, the Oglalas did not have "sophisticated surrounding bunkers".]

These erroneous reports, all of which came from a variety of local, state, and federal government officials, were the basis for the first few days of shabby wire service reporting. When reporters later attempted to verify the government's version of events, however, officials put up a solid wall of resistance.

That is a pattern reporters used to dealing with the military in Saigon, for instance, find familiar. Within 48 hours of the first reports, the FBI flew their chief public relations pro, Tom Coll, to Pine Ridge.

FBI and BIA officials who spread the original mis-information refused to speak to reporters. Coll himself made no effort to correct the inaccuracies already fed the press. Coll refused to allow reporters access to materials and information they could use to check the veracity of the official version of events. Reporters were also denied access to autopsy reports. They were denied access to the scene itself.

These methods of press manipulations could have come from sections of the Cable Splicer Papers like CSTI's "Martial Rule" course, and a lesson entitled "Control Force/Media Relations". Cable Splicer's war game directive – the order setting forth the game and the rules – calls for the creation of a central press center, similar to one set up by the FBI's Coll, through which all information to the outside world will be funneled. The "Information Plan" it contains spells out an official policy of deception.

CSTI's "Control Force/Media Relations" lesson sets out a press policy clearly cut from the Cable Splicer mold. It is also clearly cut to be worn under conditions of "martial rule". The policies followed by Tom Coll when he set-up and ran the FBI's PR shop at Pine Ridge reflect the CSTI lesson plan and its means and policies in a number of ways.

Like Cable Splicer and Coll, CSTI's lesson calls for the creation of a central press center and the coordination of all news releases with the "local civilian agency that is being assisted."

Only the military press relations officer can release "reports of arrest, injuries, deaths, damage to property, and the other essential functions of the community." Furthermore, "any deviation" from this "plan" can only be cleared by the commanding general of the National Guard.

Coll's failure to correct previous inaccuracies fed reporters by local officials also takes on the coloration of a broader government policy in light of the "media relations" lesson plan. Although the instructor's manual calls for "accurate" responses to media inquiries, the bulk of its instructions can hardly be said to encourage candor.

Coll's attempts to keep the media totally dependent on him for information, his refusal to provide the autopsy report, his denial of access to the scene, his refusal to divulge other source material, are also reflective of the "Control Force/Media Relations" lesson plan. The lesson also points out that a reporter's freedom of movement may be restricted "where necessary". The Military Field Commander additionally "is authorized to control activities of news media personnel when their presence interferes with the security or performance" of the military's mission. Finally, students are ordered to take "great care" whenever coming into contact with reporters "that comments and opinions are not made relative to the activities of local law enforcement agencies, state-county-city relationships, or public officials."

Otherwise, the press is to be treated as well as possible. The press center is to keep reporters happy with maps, official histories, current news updates, ID cards, even flak vests, helmets, gas masks. The press is recognized as a powerful force capable of bloodying the collective noses of the "martial rule" students. The line is: the press won't just go away. They have to be dealt with. Don't tell them any more than you absolutely have to, but don't be stupid about it.

Garden Plot - "Flowers Of Evil"

The operation of Cable Splicer can be seen through an examination of the U.S. response to the occupation at Wounded Knee, and the recent U.S. manipulation of the press in the killing of the FBI agents at Oglala and the blackout of the press in regard to native causes.

"The experiment with militarizing the police did not begin with Wounded Knee – Wounded Knee was simply a field test where the military was allowed to clandestinely control a rather large army composed of specially-trained U.S. Marshalls and FBI agents," writes Tim Butz in an article in the Fall, 1974, issue of *Counter-Spy*.

"The Justice Department Army was given high-powered equipment available only to the military; their tactics in the negotiations as well as their tactics on the reservation were advised by the military in the same manner as the military in Vietnam during the early years of U.S. involvement, even their needs for maps and intelligence were provided by military re-connaissance flights conducted with jets that had once flown against the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

During the occupation of Wounded Knee, slick government public relations experts controlled news coverage to make it look as though the Oglalas were occupying a town – even though they were on their own reservation. As Ridenhour says, "Russell Means and his AIM organizers were made out the bad apples of the barrel, a bunch of revolutionary busy-bodies who came to the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux Reservation to grind their own axes and stir up trouble where none had been before."

Ironically, the military presence which resulted in the massive show of technology and hardware may also have restrained the violence by the FBI and federal marshals.

The script for Wounded Knee was the then-secret Pentagon plan known as "Garden Plot". A big stack of memos between the military advisors and the Pentagon provide a blow-by-blow account of the Army's participation.

What was never told to the press was that on February 12, 1973, Attorney General Richard Kliendienst dispatched a 65-man contingent of the U.S. Marshall Service's version of SWAT, a small domestic army known as the Special Operations Group [SOG].

What followed is straight from the pages of a Cable Splicer scenario.

The Special Operations Group's operations after they arrived on the Reservation were essentially offensive in at least two senses of the word. They were abusive, contemptuous and rude on the one hand, and their conduct guaranteed a confrontation on the other. Everything SOG did seemed designed to exacerbate rather than to alleviate tensions.

SOG first went to the key federal building on the Reservation, the BIA building, converting it into their command post and an armed fortress, complete with sand-bagged gun bunkers on each corner of the roof. Next, a target range was set-up and the BIA police force was trained in shotgun and carbine firing. Special Operations Group troops, dressed in distinctive military-style blue jumpsuits, bloused paratroop boots, and matching baseball caps, began patrolling the Reservation with BIA police.

Reservation intelligence sources were immediately cultivated. Open gestures of friendship and support were made toward the one person symbolizing the deepest points of contention, the man many Oglalas thought the "primary source of repression" at Pine Ridge – Tribal Council Chairman Dick Wilson.

Wilson was – and remains – the elected head of the Council. His rule is maintained and enforced with the help of a "goon squad" made up of other Sioux loyal to him, and [paid by federal funds.] Wilson's thugs protected his political flanks through harassment, intimidation, and beating of his tribal opponents, while BIA police and officials lifted nary a hand to intervene.

Pine Ridge Oglalas had been getting fed up with it all for a long time. The murder of Wesley Bad Heart Bull [and the events at Custer] steeled the resolve of a number of tribal elders and younger men to rid themselves of Wilson's increasingly heavy hand. Following the Custer Courthouse incident, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization began to organize a drive to impeach Wilson.

That brought even more harassment and beatings. It also appears to have sparked the decision to send in SOG [to bolster the already large group of FBI men posted there.] The coalition of Wilson and his heavies with SOG convinced the Sioux civil rights leaders they were going to need help. On February 26, 1973, OSCRO decided to ask for the help of AIM, and the die was cast for the confrontation at Wounded Knee.

The siege began. The Sioux were now trapped, prisoners on their own land, and surrounded by imported white soldiers who said they, the Indians, were the "occupiers".

The Special Operations Group and their operations against the Sioux – which are still going on and have in fact escalated dramatically since 1973 – is about as pure a case-in-point model of bringing the war home there is. Organized in January, 1971, at about the same time Cable Splicer IV and similar war games were getting quietly under way all over the country, SOG was initially composed of 114 volunteers. Most were combat veterans, "matured" in the fire of Vietnam. Their uniforms were modeled on those developed for GIs in Vietnam. They use a wide range of weapons and equipment, supposedly reserved for the military, including the M-16, M-14, M-1, and M-2 carbine rifles, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, aerial photo reconnaissance, etc.

At Wounded Knee, they used all these and more. They also utilized military tactics under the "advice" and control of military officers trained in counter-insurgency warfare and honed by experience in Vietnam. The officers were dispatched by, and under the control of, the Directorate of Military Support [DOMS] – the Pentagon mother of Cable Splicer, Military Intelligence's domestic espionage, and SEADOC. A good many SOG troops had already been to SEADOC, in fact, by the time Wounded Knee field exercises put their lessons to the test.

– VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE photo by Michelle Vignes

Armored Personnel Carriers supplied by the Pentagon to Justice Department agents to deal with Oglalas at Wounded Knee. The Pentagon response was in answer to Oglala appeals for negotiations.

SOG also was used to evict Indians from the deserted Twin Cities Naval Air Station in Minneapolis, and the following month, they evicted other native people from the deserted Alcatraz Island prison.

Marshal Director Wayne Colburn was personally in charge of Marshal Service operations at Wounded Knee. One of his first acts was to request that the U.S. Air Force fly a photo reconnaissance of the area, and turn the photos over to them. That request was made through the Directorate of Military Support [DOMS] in the Pentagon.

As other requests for military equipment were made, the Justice Department asked for federal troops to clear out Wounded Knee. The Army sent an experienced observer to Wounded Knee to evaluate the situation and make recommendations. On March 2, the Commander of the 18th Airborne Corps; General Hay, called the Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne Division.

– Ted Hetzel photo

Instead of dealing with the real problems at Pine Ridge, such as housing (above), the U.S. sent in APCs.

Under the Garden Plot, the 82nd Airborne would be the primary unit sent to Wounded Knee area. The Chief of Staff, Col. Volney Warner, was in the midst of preparing contingency plans for the deployment of the 82nd Airborne to the Sudan, where two U.S. diplomats had just been assassinated. Hay ordered Warner to prepare for a quick trip to analyze a situation. Warner assumed he meant Africa, and it wasn't until they met personally that he knew he was headed for South Dakota.

Warner was told to go to Wounded Knee, to maintain a low profile, not to wear uniforms, "engage in any confrontation, or kill anyone." The DOMS commander called Colburn and the head FBI agent at Wounded Knee, Joseph Trimbach, and told them to meet Warner at Ellsworth Air Force Base near Rapid City. Warner was placed on a special Air Force flight to Ellsworth the evening of March 2.

Volney Warner was well-suited for the job. He had served in the early days of the Vietnam War as a military advisor with the South Vietnamese Army. He was trained in psychological operations at the U.S. Army Special Warfare School, and had served a second tour in Vietnam working with the civil affairs and pacification programs. Additionally, as the Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne, he best understood the limits of using military troops to quell civil disorders.

Colburn and Trimbach wanted federal troops immediately. The FBI wanted 2,000 soldiers to do the job, and went so far as to ask Warner to approve that recommendation on the spot.

Warner had a counter-proposal. Why not increase the size of the FBI and U.S. Marshals forces, and give them the military supplies necessary to do the job themselves. He assured them that if the Justice Department tried to capture Wounded Knee and failed, the 82nd Airborne Division would come to their rescue, and that if the FBI decided to withdraw, the 82nd Airborne Division would maintain law and order at Pine Ridge.

Warner, Colburn, and Trimbach finished their meeting at dawn of March 3, and boarded a South Dakota National Guard helicopter for an air tour of Wounded Knee. After surveying the scene from above, the helicopter dropped the men off at Pine Ridge, and Warner prepared his initial report for DOMS.

Later that afternoon, Colonel Jack Potter arrived at Pine Ridge to assist Warner with the logistics of supporting the Justice Department Task Force. Potter was deputy chief of staff for logistics at the 6th Army Headquarters.

By late that evening, General Alexander Haig – operating from the White House – approved the loan of fifteen armored personnel carriers to the Justice Department.

On March 4, the DOMS staff prepared an intelligence report on the Wounded Knee situation: "The Indians do not appear intent upon inflicting bodily harm upon the legitimate residents of Wounded Knee, nor upon the Federal law enforcement agents operating in this area, even though small-arms fire has been exchanged between opposing forces.

"Because of its isolated geographical location, the seizure and holding of Wounded Knee poses no threat to the Nation, to the State of South Dakota, or the Pine Ridge Reservation itself. However, it is conceded that this act is a source of irritation, if not embarrassment, to the Administration in general, and the Department of Justice in particular."

The report concluded that the Department of Defense should force the other Departments to "exhaust their capability and maximize their efforts" before authorizing Federal troops. Short of troops, the Defense Department stood ready to provide all the weapons and supplies that would be needed to carry out the task.

In spite of the assessment that the Army was dealing with an embarrassment rather than an insurrection, it poured in the equipment in order to play out the script for the Garden Plot exercise.

Garden Plot assumes the president would commit military forces only in cases where their use was essential and where civil law enforcement had been overwhelmed. The Wounded Knee experience indicates that may be a naive assumption. There seems to be little doubt that the military presence could have been

avoided if the Nixon Administration was a little less concerned about embarrassment.

The parallels with Vietnam cannot be overlooked. The memos seem to indicate that the Government poured in the equipment and technology to avoid looking like what Nixon called "a helpless giant".

The day after Warner arrived at Wounded Knee, he reported that he had "extracted from the Garden Plot plan the statement on use of deadly and non-deadly force" and asked the Justice Department's representative to sign it. The statement permits the use of deadly force only when other methods have failed and when lives are in danger. At Warner's urging, the FBI changed its shoot-to-kill rules, at least officially, to "shoot-to-wound."

Supplies were not the only commodity that the military gave the Justice Department. Warner and Potter, according to Warner's "after-action report" [a Cable Splicer term] soon began to function as military advisors to the Justice Department, much in the same fashion as Warner had done in Vietnam in the early 1960s.

One of the first tasks facing Warner was the evaluation and formation of an assault plan for taking Wounded Knee by force. Colburn and Warner worked on this problem from March 3 through March 5, and devised a basic attack plan that would be modified as the siege continued.

The basic attack plan called for the Armored Personnel Carriers [APCs] to come into Wounded Knee from the north, with flak-vested and helmeted Marshals ahead of them. Just outside rifle range, the Marshals would use bullhorns to announce an opportunity for the people to surrender. The Catholic Church on the hill where the Oglalas made their headquarters would then be gassed with 35mm gas guns fired from the APCs. The APCs would then move into small arms range and scare the people into surrendering. If small arms fire came from the church, the Marshals were prepared to fire into it.

This same basic plan was slightly modified through the period of March 5, when Warner first presented DOMs with it during a telephone report, and March 12, when a written version was presented to General Alexander Haig, the President's Chief of Staff, and General Creighton Abrams, the Army Chief of Staff. In the March 12 version of the assault plan, helicopters were added for the purposes of command and control. Colburn and Warner, according to the plan, would fly above Wounded Knee where Colburn would direct the operations, and Warner would serve as his advisor.

As the plans were being developed and debated by the Justice and Defense Departments, the size of the Justice Department Task Force was growing daily. On March 5 there were 243 Federal officers in sight. By the 12th of March, there were over 300. Army materials loans by the middle of March were staggering – over 130 M-16 rifles with 100,000 rounds of ammunition, 75 high-powered sniper rifles (M-14s, M-1s, and Springfields, all with scopes and ammunition); helmets, flak vests, signal flares, mine detectors, C-rations, jeeps, trucks, and maintenance technicians for the APCS were all in the possession of the Marshals and FBI. The equipment, coupled with the manpower of the Marshals and the advice of the military, gave the government exactly what they wanted at Wounded Knee – a clandestine army.

According to columnist Jack Anderson, the Army was prepared to send tanks and troops against the people inside Wounded Knee. An inside account of the White House in the event has been written by John D. Ehrlichman, former White House domestic affairs aide, who has expressed much interest to "help the Indians" as his penance for his Watergate crimes.

"Fred Buzhardt, general counsel for the Defense Department, sent an observer to Wounded Knee at one point – a professional soldier," Ehrlichman writes. "He came back with very strong criticism of the way the marshals were handling it. If it was to be all in and the Army were asked to do it, they would use tanks, a minimum of a division of troops, and go full scale." Ehrlichman says the White House refused to consider such an assault.

Ehrlichman, who has been living in the New Mexico native pueblos recently, describes Wayne Colburn, then chief U.S. Marshal, as "the super-hawk and villain." According to Ehrlichman, "Colburn was for going in, strongly. He apparently authorized the marshals to return fire, and on a given night, thousands of rounds would be fired, with very little effect, usually. Colburn reported to his superiors at Justice that the firing was necessary because Indian fire 'pinned down federal people, who then had to be extricated with counter fire.' "

Most of the time during the siege, President Richard Nixon was at Camp David, working on a governmental reorganization. Decisions were left to a second-string aide, Ken Cole, Ehrlichman says. He also tags deputy attorney general Joseph Sneed as a hawk. "Sneed was in favor of going in, doing such damage as might be required to suppress the 'uprising', and restore law and order," Ehrlichman says in his account, which was written as a letter to actor Marlon Brando.

Col. Warner and Col. Potter did not limit their advice to military matters, however, and they began to give advice to the Justice Department on the politically-delicate negotiations that were taking place between Oglalas and U.S. *Warner mixed his analysis of the situation at the negotiating table with suggestions for military action, much in the same way that the U.S. used the air war as a lever in the Vietnam Peace Talks.*

Warner made several trips back to Washington to meet with both Justice and Defense Department officials. The first of these trips took place March 20-23, and was followed by a second trip on March 29th. At the March 29th meetings, the idea of forcibly taking Wounded Knee was debated and rejected, but the need for a better contingency plan sent Col. Warner and an officer from DOMS to Fort Bragg to meetings with officials there.

In the first week of April, Kent Frizzell replaced Harlington Wood as the primary Government negotiator. On April 5, the Oglalas and Frizzell came to an agreement for ending Wounded Knee based on the surrender of Russell Means and a meeting between Means and White House officials on the grievances advanced by the Oglalas. When Means called Wounded Knee after the initial meeting, the other residents were to surrender their weapons and leave. Only those with arrest warrants pending were to be arrested. This peace plan fell apart when the White House refused to meet with Means unless the occupation was first ended. When the negotiations in Washington failed to materialize, the Oglalas inside Wounded Knee refused to surrender their weapons to the Marshals.

The breakdown of the peace talks led to a classic military response: new "close-hold contingency plans" were developed by the Defense Department, and the original Warner-Colburn plan was subjected to further scrutiny.

On April 12, the Defense Department received a request from the Justice Department for a "pre-positioned" package of military equipment to be shipped to Ellsworth AFB in case Wounded Knee were to be taken by force. Among the articles asked for by Justice were 200 baseball-type CS gas grenades, M-79 grenade launchers with 100 rounds of high explosives, 600 rounds of CS gas and 600 rounds of red smoke, 750 pounds of dry CS and air delivery canisters, helicopters, and military advisors. On April 17, the Defense Department approved the pre-positioning for Fort Carson rather than for Ellsworth, partly on Col. Warner's recommendations.

In the meantime, the firefights around Wounded Knee were continuing on a nightly basis. As a part of their siege strategy, the Federal forces would pour unlimited numbers of rounds into the village in hopes of exhausting the Oglala/AIM ammunition supply. By the time Wounded Knee was over, the Justice Department's army had expended almost 150,000 rounds of military ammunition in addition to the ammunition it procured from its own inventory.

In addition to the Justice Department's army surrounding Wounded Knee, Dick Wilson's goon squad was also in on the action.

At some point in late April, apparently during Wayne Colburn's trip to Washington, a tentative date of May 10th was set for the military assault of Wounded Knee. Negotiations would continue, but unless a settlement was reached by the 10th, the Government was willing to use force to end a situation which the Army itself had termed "no threat".

The Marshals began to train in the APCs for the assault on Wounded Knee and the attack plans themselves were reviewed and finalized. The Army sent a chemical weapons officer to instruct the Marshals on the use of the CS gas launchers that would be attached to the APCs. Helicopter pilots were brought into familiarize themselves with the local terrain. Col. Warner continued to give both military and political advice to the Justice Department officials as the deadline drew nearer. The basic attack plan as outlined by Col. Warner and Marshal Colburn was prepared for implementation.

New elements were added to the original March 12 proposal sent to General Haig, such as dropping leaflets on Wounded Knee as soon as the APCs were in place around the village, and house-to-house searches to be conducted by FBI search teams under the protection of the Marshal's SOG.

On May 4, the White House sent a proposal for a settlement to the Oglalas. The letter provided the basis for the settlement at Wounded Knee that was reached on May 6, four days before the assault on Wounded Knee was to have taken place.

The precedent set by the Federal Government at Wounded Knee is all too obvious and painful for a country that is trying to forget the abuse of Presidential power that marked the Nixon Administration. But the question of what happened at Wounded Knee and how the Army was able to circumvent the spirit and letter of the law goes beyond the scope of a single administration.

The Special Operations Group within the Marshals Service represents a standing army responsible only to the Attorney General, not the Congress and the people.

They wear military-style uniforms, use military weapons, and utilize military tactics under the advice and control of Army officers. In addition, members of the SOG attend the Army's SEADOC [Senior Officers Civil Disturbance Orientation Course] at Fort Gordon. By all objective standards, they are an army rather than a police force, an army that has its entire history in "civil disorder" suppression. [It has been used against people of color in the Virgin Islands, and in Puerto Rico, as well as against Indians.]

The role of the military at Wounded Knee obviously went beyond the limits described in the Posse Commitatus Act, the law which prohibits the military from enforcing civil law. The military itself, in the after-action report on Wounded Knee, describes its role as being equal to, not subservient to, the Justice Department officials who were responsible for the siege.

A virtual endless display of military hardware, weapons, trucks, and every other aspect of material for a small army was given to the Marshals. And the only string attached to all of it was the military advisor, Col. Warner. Warner's power lay in the fact that the Pentagon would not issue any equipment to the Justice Department without first getting a recommendation from Warner. If Warner didn't recommend approval, the equipment would not be given.

Warner was the father of the attack plan for Wounded Knee, and had it been implemented he would have been above Wounded Knee in a helicopter "advising" Marshal Colburn on the flow of tactics. He was able to exert his political power to get the Federal forces to change their policy on weapons fire and he advised them on strategy for the negotiations. He was not simply an "observer" nor a passive bystander: Col. Warner was the first military officer to conduct a full-scale counter-insurgency operation in modern America.

And he conducted it right before the collective television eye of the entire American public, and few if any people ever knew he was present.

For his role at Wounded Knee, Col. Volney Warner was promoted to Brigadier General and made the Assistant Division Commander of the 82nd Airborne. For their role in the Siege of Wounded Knee, over 200 Oglalas and AIM members and supporters were indicted on a variety of charges.

The law enforcement community learned a lot from its exercise at Wounded Knee. The California Civil Disturbance Management School, for example, is now recommending that local police authorities look into the purchase of surplus APCs, and that in any case, regular training on military equipment such as APCs be given at the CDMS. In addition, they are recommending that local police forces train their people in the use of the M-16 automatic rifle, since it is the standard military weapon that would be "loaned" to civil authorities.

After the June 26 deaths, the FBI conducted a paramilitary operation, claiming to be seeking anyone connected with the shootings. Homes and autos were surrounded by the fatigue-clothed counter-insurgency units of the FBI SWAT squads. Helicopters hovered overhead, while sometimes as many as a score of agents threatened old people and children by brandishing automatic weaponry of AR-15 and M-16 types. No Indian family or home was secure from illegal entry and search, often with no concern for private property. Many objects were confiscated and have not been seen since. Even cars were towed away and totally dismantled. Legal workers who sought to assure Indian residents of their legal rights frequently entered a home to find a father and his children literally cowering with fear in a corner of their own living room.

While the police continue to gear up their training and technology as a result of what they learned at Wounded Knee, the basic social problems that sparked the situation continue today. The racism and repression experienced on the Pine Ridge Reservation continues, as does the administration of Dick Wilson and the exploitation from the local ranchers and merchants.

As Senator Sam Ervin recently emphasized in his hearings on Military Intelligence domestic operations, the Army cannot be trusted to check its own power. What the military did at Wounded Knee – with Indians – means that the next time they will be even more bold with their attempts to control the civil authorities and such control is the first step towards open military rule – of all U.S. peoples.

[Thanks to Tim Butz for this article, adapted from his own in Counter-Spy, a magazine of the counter-intelligence community published at POBox 647 Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.]

At the same time as the Pentagon was proceeding with Garden Plot, the Central Intelligence Agency was developing "Operation CHAOS", the agency's label for its massive and secret domestic spying operation. Among the agencies which were eventually tagged for disruption and surveillance were the American Indian Movement.

As part of that program, the CIA developed illegal relationships with local police departments, which included training programs in intelligence work, routing payment of "gratuities", the lending of CIA agents and equipment for police work, and the use of police officers during CIA break-ins. The CIA also had a longtime agreement with the Justice Department which exempted any CIA agent from criminal investigation or prosecution. These practices were exposed in the recent Rockefeller Commission on CIA Activities.

While the problems the people complain of are left untouched, the BIA police have had a blank check to beef up its forces. Recently it received ten new police cars, two four-wheel drive vehicles, and four suburban vehicles. 26 new law enforcement positions have been added to the roster. Officers also have new uniforms, handcuffs, weapons, and "other necessary gear".

In the Rockefeller Commission Report on CIA activities, the American Indian Movement is named as one of the organizations subjected to the illegal infiltration programs of the Central Intelligence Agency's "Operation CHAOS". This program was designed to use any means necessary to disrupt and discredit groups the CIA felt were dangerous to U.S. stability.

In November, the Senate committee investigating the CIA confirmed that the U.S. had engineered assassination plots against foreign political leaders. Plots were hatched to deal with heads of state in Cuba, Congo, South Vietnam, Chile, and the Dominican Republic.

The Senate Select Committee termed the death plots "aberrations" and even seemed to justify them by noting that they took place at a time when "our country faced a monolithic enemy in Communism." The report also claims that none of the plots were carried out – although it is a historical fact that four of the five intended victims indeed were killed during the time the assassination plans were in force.

"Of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba," the report says, "it does not appear the U.S. was involved in the killing." However, the report notes that U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower authorized Lumumba's assassination, and the CIA sent two operatives to the Congo to carry it out, and weapons of poison were dispatched to be used in the killing.

The CIA also supplied weapons to be used in assassinating Dominican Republic leader Rafael Trujillo, but the report claims that his shooting death in May, 1961, was not connected with CIA efforts. The committee also found that the assassination of South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem in November, 1962, was a "spontaneous act . . . and was carried out without U.S. involvement or support," even though the U.S. developed plans to assassinate him and instigated the coup that lead to his death.

At least eight CIA attempts were made on the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, but each one obviously failed.

If the U.S. would go to all that trouble so far from its shores, to what lengths would it go to stifle sovereign nations which it borders in North America, like the native peoples? On the one hand, with its massive apparatus of courts and police and a populace whose education allows it to be easily controlled through the media, agents do not have to resort to extreme means. However, if these routine strategies fail, then intelligence agencies have to escalate their strategies, as has been happening within the native movements, because they cannot afford to lose the energy resources and to have a free people so close to their metropolitan areas.

Orders from the White House stated that "no one should be permitted to stand in the way of the prompt, efficient, and secure accomplishment of this mission . . . Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply. If the U.S. is to survive, long-standing American concepts of American fair play must be reconsidered."

With that conduct now Standard Operating Procedure on some reservations, the U.S. public cannot bring itself to believe that their government would bring such torment to Indian people, because they have such faith in the "long-standing American concepts of American fair play."

Like reservations, each of the countries involved in the assassination were Third World countries trying to climb out from colonial histories. None of them "possessed great political or military strength," the report says.

The Senate report also details CIA cooperation with organized crime and a system of "plausible deniability" that conceals the involvement of high officials in actions. "Officials of the CIA made use of persons associated with the criminal underworld," the report states, and used them for their "criminal talents". In return, the CIA intervened to protect the crime figures from criminal prosecution.

U.S. citizens have started to become used to the idea of CIA operatives performing dirty-trick operations in foreign countries – perhaps they have even come to believe such actions are necessary. Many citizens are even now beginning to accept intelligence operations against legitimate social change groups like the American Indian Movement.

By the time citizens find operatives in their own neighborhood, churches, offices, and Rotary Clubs, though, it will be too late to complain.

C.I.A.

F.B.I.

The combinations of arrests, court actions and harassments point more and more to a state-federal-local conspiracy to deal expediently, efficiently, and thoroughly with native activists. With the movement on the Pine Ridge Reservation growing stronger in support of districts seceeding from the Indian-Reorganization-Act tribal council, the persistent efforts of traditional leaders to meet with U.S. President Gerald Ford, and the deaths of the two FBI agents at Oglala on June 26, officials seem to be pulling out all stops and are proceeding with impunity.

In the Early Winter, 1974, issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, Richard LaCourse of the American Indian Press Association outlines the cooperative effort then developing between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the FBI. The information came directly from documents released by Attorney General William Saxbe and other material brought to light during the Wounded Knee trials.

James Cooper, according to this information, is coordinator for Special Operations Services (SOS) and collects basic intelligence from the U.S. Marshalls, the FBI, the Secret Service, local BIA police units, and state law enforcement agencies. He "apprises our people of the movements of people, mostly Indian militant groups, that may affect the tranquility of the Indian reservations," a BIA official says.

From the FBI documents, LaCourse listed eight goals of the FBI's program against what it terms Indian "militants". One of those goals is to "have local police put leaders under close scrutiny and arrest leaders on every possible charge until they can no longer make bail." This strategy, which was successful with the leadership, is now being used with many activists.

It is important to understand what the Government calls "Indian militancy" and why native people have become "militant". At Pine Ridge, for instance, report after report, study after study – including the Government's own reports – shed light on the tragic problems and sharp conflicts on the reservation. Yet rather than dealing with the problems, the U.S. response has been to intensify the problems, and to put pressures on those who are trying to constructively deal with the situation in legal and peaceful manners.

Rather than welcoming the support of the Lakota Treaty Council when it went to Washington, for instance, the U.S. gave them bureaucratic runarounds, hoping that the difficult climate, homesickness, family problems, and serious financial shortages would cause them to retreat before the issues of sovereignty, jurisdiction, control of land, control of education, re-establishment of peace and human dignity through reducing violence would not be raised.

The Senate Intelligence Committee also opened an investigation of "abuses" by the FBI that included an effort to drive the late Martin Luther King to suicide. The effort was one of a series of attempts by the agency to discredit the civil rights leader over a period of six years.

The suicide effort consisted of a note sent anonymously to King with a tape recording of a reportedly compromising incident. The note said, "King, you are done. There is but one way out for you."

On November 19, a high official of the FBI detailed how his agency had for six years used illegal and perverse tactics against King in an attempt to subvert his leadership ability in the black civil rights movement. The campaign involved electronic surveillance of his private life, and blackmail letters treatened to expose "infidelity" unless he took himself out of the struggle against racism. FBI agents were sent around to spread the slander to a college planning to honor Dr. King with a degree, and to the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church who had agreed to meet with Dr. King, as well as to financial supporters of his organization.

FBI officials explain their illegal actions against King by saying that King might have been under "Communist influence."

King was eventually silenced by an assassin's bullet in Memphis – strange that a man whom the FBI had kept under such constant surveillance could be killed so easily.

Other FBI actions against King were designed toward "knocking him off his pedastal" as a note to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover from FBI counter-intelligence chief William Sullivan explained. Wiretaps and eavesdropping devices produced thousands of hours of tapes on his actions and fabricated reports about him were fed to the press, just as more recently, efforts have been made to encourage boozing by AIM leaders, or using terrorist activities, or to travel about with explosives or "guerilla warfare handbooks" – and to have them apprehended and exposed to the press – begins to make sense.

For instance, when John Trudell was arrested recently after his argument in the trading post over food prices, the FBI sent out a press release which was widely reprinted reporting that Trudell, a national AIM leader, had attempted a robbery while on a drunken spree.

The FBI engaged in over 2300 counter-intelligence actions and employed as many as 7500 informants in 1972 just in urban ghettos. Senator Philip Hart of Michigan said the tactics used against King were also employed against other minority activists, antiwar leaders, and members of the women's movement. The FBI attempted to break up marriages, force people out of their jobs, discredit them in the eyes of their parents, teachers and friends – and to create antagonisms between groups that would lead to murder. Witness the 1974 shooting of Clyde Bellecourt by his associate in AIM leadership, Carter Camp.

— Voices from Wounded Knee photo

Marshals and FBI personnel working at Federal Roadblock 1 during the siege on Wounded Knee. When native people have asked for FBI assistance, they have been told, "We are strictly an investigative agency."

The FBI had attempted to stir up a violent conflict between the Black Panther Party and the Chicago Blackstone Rangers in 1969 that was designed to "encourage the Rangers to shoot some or all of the Panthers", an activity not unlike the current one to whip up members of the John Birch Society and other members of the U.S. right to take action against AIM.

When Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were shot in Chicago in 1969, Hampton's personal body guard was William O'Neal, a paid undercover FBI informer. Leaders of the FBI's Chicago office are defendants in a $30-million damage suit .

In June of this year, the American Civil Liberties Union sent the Senate Intelligence Committee a lengthy report on alleged plots by the FBI and San Diego police to assassinate a local antiwar activist. The report details the accounts of two former FBI informers, alleging that the FBI recruited a band of right-wing terrorists and supplied them with money and weapons to attack antiwar demonstrators. The group was known as "Secret Army Organization", a paramilitary group of about a dozen members which the ACLU says was an outgrowth of an interagency espionage apparatus organized "at the direction of Richard M. Nixon."

The group's acts allegedly included vandalism, bombings, espionage, mail theft, and assassinations.

According to the ACLU, the two informants – Gilbert Romero and J.M. Lopez – had been ordered to kidnap ,Pete Bohmer, an economics instructor at San Diego State University, just before the Republican National Convention which was at that time scheduled to be held in San Diego. Still another informant has come forward to say he too had been ordered to kill Bohmer.

In Chicago, members of a paramilitary fascist-like group, the Legion of Justice, have admitted that their attacks on socialists, blacks, and antiwar activists were financed, supplied, and directed by the Chicago Police Department and the U.S. Army. The disclosures were made by Legion members Thomas Stewart and Stephen Sedlacko in court under oath.

The Legion had attacked antiwar bookstores and movement coffeehouses with tire irons, blackjacks, and eventually guns. They also had sophisticated electronic surveillance devices. The long series of attacks was under the direction of the Chicago "Red Squad" police, or the 113th Military Intelligence Group of the U.S. Army.

The Socialist Workers Party has a $27-million lawsuit against the U.S., charging that interviews and dossiers on its members, none of whom were suspected of doing anything illegal, constituted official harassment of a non-violent party seeking to elect candidates to public office. Documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act revealed that the Cleveland FBI office had succeeded in having the wife of a SWP official dismissed from her teaching job by alerting the school board of her husband's political affiliation.

But even if FBI agents are acting illegally, it is difficult to put a halt to their actions as long as they are acting "in good faith."

In September, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled against five persons who sued the FBI for false arrest after they were stopped in Bend, Oregon, in March, 1973, while taking supplies to the occupiers of Wounded Knee. The plaintiffs, who ranged in age from 18 to 31, were Scott Burgwin, Benjamin Richmond, Carlo J. Sposito Jr., Lillian Stevens, and Melody Ann Whitely. The five, all from Portland, Oregon, were arrested under the Anti-Riot Act of 1968.

Agents seized a rented truck loaded with food and clothing. Four days later, U.S. Attorney Sidney Lezak dismissed the complaints against them. The plaintiffs said the arrests deprived them of their constitutional rights of travel and expression, and from unreasonable arrest, search, and seizure. However, the agents said they thought they were doing the right thing, and the appeals court found that they were "acting within the scope of their authority and reasonably believed in good faith that the arrests were lawful."

Despite the massive cost in dollars and in human dignity, the domestic spying program of the FBI turns out to be a total waste of funds, according to the U.S. Government's General Accounting Office [GAO]. Auditors reviewed 676 random cases in the FBI's files, and found that only four ended in convictions. The FBI spent $82-million last year supposedly to keep track of radical and subversive activities. The study found the FBI relied on "soft evidence" to identify potential subversives. A subversive file might be started on the basis of a tip that a student did nothing more than attend a trial of a political activist.

In a July 14 news conference, FBI director Clarence Kelley admitted the FBI had conducted a massive number of break-ins into foreign missions, political organizations, and organized crime headquarters in recent years. All told, there were over 1,500 break-ins.

Information on the break-ins were not filed in the regular system, so that the FBI could submit sworn affidavits in court saying that "Bureau records contain no indication of this break-in."

Recent statistics from declassified "Cointelpro" FBI documents show that a high percentage of the Ku Klux Klan leaders in the 1960s were actually informers. In fact, during one year in the late 1960s, informants accounted for more than 70% of all KKK members. Whether they were actually bringing back information, or carrying out racist activities for the FBI under the KKK banner is open to question.

S.1

If a bill currently before the U.S. Congress becomes law, these sorts of activities will be more frequent – and U.S. people will be able to do little about it. The bill is called S.1 in the Senate, a criminal justice reform act pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee that would legalize McCarthy-era-style repression. It would render illegal most of the demonstrations held during the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, provide long prison terms for reporters or editors who "impair military effectiveness" by publishing Pentagon secrets. It would also be illegal to express views that at some time in the future might lead someone to wage armed rebellion against the Government. In fact, it is conceivable that this article could not legally be published if S.1 is passed.

S.1 was passed by the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, and is now in full Senate Committee. Probably hearings will be held in January or February before it reaches the Senate floor. Then the House will hold hearings on their version, and the new Kastenmeier-Mikva version introduced in November at the behest of the ACLU.

S.1 permits conviction of defendants for committing crimes which they were induced to commit by improper pressures of police agents. Section 1302 would make physical interference with federal government functions a felony – virtually every mass demonstration could fall within this prohibition.

Until now, federal criminal laws in the U.S. have developed in random fashion. As new needs arose, statutes and court rulings have been added. Some of the rules now in use are out-of-date, or contradictory. Twenty years ago, a movement began to write a whole new set of federal laws. In 1966, President Lyndon Johnson appointed the National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws. It made its final report in January, 1971, and while it was clearly a liberal/conservative compromise, it was generally acceptable.

Attorneys-General John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst felt the report wasn't geared sufficiently to the Nixon Administration's Law and Order regime. The two men, now convicted of Watergate crimes, had a revised bill sent to the Senate.

While there is no denying that the U.S. needs new laws, the 753-page bill is not what most people have in mind – if, in fact, they know at all what it contains. The death penalty would be reimposed in certain cases. True, the bill has certain features that some people see as desirable, like frosting on the cake – marijuana possession would have a maximum penalty of 30 days, and a new federal program would compensate victims of crime for their injuries or losses.

Alan Cranston, Senator from California, says that if the S.1 had been law a few years ago, the U.S. public would never have learned about the Watergate scandals, the My Lai massacre, or the Pentagon Papers on IndoChina war policies. Also, S.1 would make it more difficult for defendants and prisoners to obtain probation or parole. It would be easier to prosecute for conspiracy, a charge already regarded as overused.

Electronic surveillance without a court order would be possible, and rights to free speech and peaceful assembly would be restricted. The Governing Body of the National Council of Churches in the USA and other groups such as the United Methodist Board of Church and Society have expressed opposition to the present form of S.1. Instead, they are pressing for legislation that would follow more closely the recommendations of the National Commission on the Reform of Criminal Laws.

S.1 also attacks tribal jurisdiction, by making Indian reservations similar to federal buildings and military bases, and then in a later section, 1863, makes it a federal crime to violate on any federal land any state or local laws.

Sections 1861 and 1862 create new federal misdemeanor offenses for speech or conduct within Indian country. It would be an offense to alarm, harass, or annoy another by violent, tumultuous, or threatening conduct, obscene language, unreasonable noise, persistently following a person, or for no legitimate purpose engaging in hazardous or physically-offensive conduct.

But more sinister is section 1862, which would make it an offense for a person on a reservation to not follow the order of a government official – like an Indian agent – to disperse or to refrain from engaging in a specified activity.

The NCC is worried about such provisions of S.1 as imprisonment for "inciting ten or more persons to riot" even if the riot does not occur, or where there is no direct connection between the speech and the incident. A riot is defined as behavior by ten or more persons whose conduct "creates a grave danger of imminently causing" damage to property.

S.1 permits conviction of defendants for committing crimes which they were induced to commit by improper pressures of police agents. Section 1302 would make physical interference with federal government functions a felony, which could have made all the civil rights and anti-war demonstrations illegal.

Persons interested in further information on S.1 can contact:

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second St. NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
or
American Civil Liberties Union
22 E 40th St.
New York, N.Y. 10012

When Douglas Durham was an important figure in the American Indian Movement, he made right-on Red Power speeches, condemning honkies and urging a militant native stand.

Then it was discovered he was actually an undercover informer/provacateur/agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and he was publicly exposed.

On March 7, Durham was confronted with copies of FBI reports by him which had been obtained through the court "discovery" process in relation to the Wounded Knee trials. At that time, Durham said he believed AIM was a "viable, legal, social organization" and he agreed to talk with AIM's attorneys, Leonard Cavise of Chicago and Ken Tilsen of St. Paul in a tape-recorded witnesed interview.

During the hours and hours of conversation, Durham volunteered a great deal of information about his background, his involvement with organized crime in the past, and his recruitment as a police informant for criminal and political matters. Investigators then verified his statements by the use of independent records and interviews with other persons.

During the interviews, only the two attorneys and a minister were present – there was no one from AIM around. After the interviewing from March 9-12, Durham told a nationally-covered press conference, "I asked the FBI to contact the Justice Department regarding dismissal of all [Wounded Knee] cases" because he had violated the attorney-client confidentiality.

"After two years with AIM, it's my opinion that the American Indian Movement is a viable, legal, social organization, and if something is to be investigated, they should start with the BIA, Department of Interior, the land leases, oil rights, and possibly really the FBI," he told newsmen, still playing his role, and before his current assignment with white right-wing groups.

After the interviews, Durham disappeared from public view. When asked what the future held for him, he said he would probably continue to be an undercover agent, working in some different arena.

Recently, Durham has come into public view again. This time, he is a right-on John Birch Society advocate, urging the unsuspecting white populace to deal with the Communist conspiracy of the likes of Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon to take over the U.S. for Moscow. In that role, he is condemning the American Indian Movement as "Communist controlled" and says it is a dangerous threat to the freedom of the U.S. peoples.

Doug Durham, Posing as a Public Speaker

Some people believe that this is simply the true Durham coming out. Others think he is still playing cloak-and-dagger spy, this time as a double agent, killing two birds with one arrow – he gets to arouse action against AIM and others seeking native rights, and he also endears himself to the increasingly-militant John Birch Society operating in the right wing of U.S. society so that he can continue his game as informer/provocateur/agent.

Thus the American Indian Movement and the John Birch Society have become united in a common struggle – the threat to free dialogue and informed social change caused by the use of government informers/provocateurs.

ANATOMY OF AN INFORMER

PART 2

Undercover as an FBI Undercover Agent

But Durham's role with AIM, and his present role with John Birch Society may not be his only roles. There are good reasons to believe Durham was – and still is – actually working for the CIA or another intelligence agency, using the FBI as his cover.

From 1955-1959, Durham says he was in the Marines as a cook. After his service until 1962, his account is vague. Des Moines people who knew him during the 1955-1965 period say Durham was always boasting of his spy and sabotage work in Cuba in the Special Forces.

He was trained by the CIA in demolition, sabotage, flying, safecracking, lockpicking, forgery, and scuba-diving while working with spy/saboteur groups of counter-revolutionary anti-Castro Cubans who were armed and trained by the CIA.

After his discharge from the Marines, Durham was "sheepdipped" – his traceable connections with the U.S. Government were hidden, and he was stationed at the CIA base in Retalhuleo, Guatemala. He flew a number of missions from there, and was part of the back-up for the unsuccessful and notorious Bay of Pigs invasion that attempted to unseat the revolutionary Cuban government.

Police acquaintances say Durham always boasted widely and in great detail about his actions and his CIA connections. Several times, according to one of his former police supervisors, Durham had to be reprimanded. "Des Moines isn't Cuba," he says he told Durham.

While Durham was in AIM, he attempted to involve the American Indian Movement as a cover for a CIA attempt to place a secret team in Honduras just after the severe hurricane in September, 1974. His first attempt was to get AIM to publicly demand, sponsor, and pay for a plane with a team of "parachute medics" operated out of Long Beach, California, by the "Foundation for Airborne Relief" [FAR]. He was going to have Dennis Banks put up his interest in Ojibway Nation lands to pay the cost. AIM investigations established that FAR was a CIA front, and Durham's first attempt was halted.

Next, he tried to have AIM pay $30,000 to charter a plane for the "medics" from Flying Tiger Airlines of New Orleans, another private charter company with close CIA ties. That arrangement was cancelled by a woman working in the AIM office who knew of that connection.

Next, Durham arranged through Brad Patterson, the presidential assistant to U.S. President Richard Nixon who was very much in evidence during the Wounded Knee negotiations, to have the Defense Department supply a plane and a "special crew". This plane did take some supplies collected by a Minnesota dentist to Honduras, even though the International Red Cross and even the U.S. State Department said the Hondurans didn't want the supplies, nor the plane or its crew.

Although Durham was unsuccessful in having AIM listed as a sponsor to that mission, it is believed by AIM that if the "special crew" were discovered to be CIA, it would discredit AIM in the eyes of South and Central American native peoples, with whom AIM had begun to make contact after the First International Indian Treaty Conference three months prior to the plane's flight.

An interesting sidelight on the "CIA incident" is that Durham has related to AIM attorneys in his lengthy taped interviews of March 12 that the FBI was very interested in the incident. They asked him questions about it for almost a day, he says. That would indicate the FBI was not aware – at least at lower levels – that the FBI was only "shallow cover" for Durham in the event he was exposed. His real employers – the CIA – would stay hidden in the shadow of the FBI, exactly what did happen.

Of course, much of this is enlightened supposition. Only the CIA knows for sure, and they aren't talking. But it all fits like a glove. To make the fit even tighter, look at the way in which Durham became involved with the FBI on March 18, 1973.

It was on that day that Durham, perhaps working for CIA or Army Intelligence, approached the FBI to ask for their help in getting into Wounded Knee as a spy for them. In the summer of 1972, a fake newspaper, "Pax Today", was set up in Des Moines with Durham on its staff as a photographer. Durham has told AIM attorneys that he just happened to be working for this newspaper, and was called in the middle of the night by its publisher, Christopher Eckhardt, to go into Wounded Knee. He says he then approached the FBI and offered to supply information and photos in exchange for being okayed to pass through FBI checkpoints. He claims Eckhardt and editor "Paula Ecklund" knew nothing of this.

But "Pax Today" was a phony newspaper. Only a few hundred copies were printed, and the contents are obviously written by people trying to imitate something they don't understand. Checks on "Eckhardt" and "Ecklund" fail to reveal the existence of people with such names in Des Moines from 1970 to 1974.

Agents posing as journalists is an increasingly common police practice. During the Alexian Brothers Novitiate takeover in January, Wisconsin Governor Patrick J. Lucey hired Ronald Newhouser, a retired police chief, to gather intelligence. Newhouser did so, posing as a newsman.

In Wounded Knee on March 20, the "press team" acted very much like it was – a CIA or Army intelligence team. The woman, Paula Ecklund, was interested in the "postal inspector incident" for which Leonard Crow Dog, Carter Camp, and Stan Holder were recently convicted. Christopher Eckhardt's interviews bear all the earmarks of a trained intelligence interviewer.

"How many people came with you from Washington?" he asked in an interview. "Are the others from Washington Chicanos like yourselves? How many people would you say are guarding Wounded Knee? Of these 300, how many came from around here? Did you bring your own weapons, or did they have weapons for you here? What kind of guns do they have in the bunkers? Are all the men on security patrol? How many squads are there? How many men in each squad?"

After Durham came back from Wounded Knee, he went to Harvey Major, Iowa AIM coordinator in Des Moines. (Harvey was killed in an "auto accident" in the fall of 1974.) Durham told Major, "I'm only part Indian, but since I went to Wounded Knee, I'm 100% Indian and 100% AIM." Durham actually has no Indian ancestry, and had artificially darkened his skin and obtained brown contact lenses to cover his grey eyes.

From within Iowa AIM, Durham was soon advising people how to sneak into Wounded Knee. Most got caught, of course.

Next, Durham planned and led a number of screwball operations. First there was the "Open Bible Church Camp-In" which Des Moines AIM carried out just before Easter, 1973. He also conducted the camp-in at the Methodist Church Conference in early summer and the armed takeover of the State Office of Education, an action which lost Iowa AIM all its local support and eventually destroyed it. Many other AIM chapters around the country came to regard the Des Moines group as plain crazy.

The Education Office takeover was planned in collusion with police and FBI. While it was a stunt that was useless and harmful to AIM, it did establish Durham's image as a "right-on warrior". He continued to move in AIM as a friend, pilot, and aide to Dennis Banks.

On his arrival at St. Paul for the start of the Banks-Means trial, he appointed himself "AIM National Security Director". Bluffs, occasional brutality, con-man tactics – with a little help from his police friends – helped him to maintain his position. From the vantage point of power, he was able to damage AIM and the legal defense. In addition to rifling the till, he used prostitutes and call girls who posed as Indians to gain information and to cause disruption.

With the help of lawyers he had operated with before, Durham set up a bewildering variety of fake AIM organizations and bank accounts, and proceeded to rake off about $25,000 from Iowa's AIM programs. One of the lawyers involved was killed in the summer of 1974 in an "auto accident."

AIM officials allege that Durham did the same thing in St. Paul, probably cleaning out $100,000 from WKLDOC and AIM funds. Durham controlled the money and the records, and had first access to incoming mail.

Durham used his position as an "AIM leader" to spy on supportive individuals and groups — churches, community organizations, unions, political and social groups. These are now targeted for harassment and other attacks.

Durham entered Canada frequently, sometimes openly and sometimes secretly. He seemed to have some sort of relationship with Canadian law-enforcement officials.

Although Canada's Solicitor General Warran Allmand had said repeatedly that all U.S. investigative agencies, including the FBI and CIA, routinely sought Royal Canadian Mounted Police approval for any operations in Canada, Durham told the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's "As It Happens" show that he had been in Canada at least four times as an undercover agent without informing the RCMP.

One time he was with the Native People's Caravan in Ottawa. Then he even conducted an interview as an AIM leader with the RCMP. Twice he had flown to Yellowknife, over a thousand miles from the U.S. border, in the Northwest Territories, with Dennis Banks.

During the Anicinabe Park occupation in Kenora, Durham also was involved without RCMP clearance.

The Janklow-Durham Connection

Last year, William Janklow announced he would run for South Dakota's Attorney-General's office on a get-tough-with-AIM platform. Earlier in his career, Janklow had directed a legal aid program on the Rosebud Reservation, and had practiced before the Rosebud Tribal Court.

During the campaign, a motion was made to disbar him from Tribal Court practice on the grounds that he had been involved in a sordid rape of a Lakota girl who was the babysitter for his children. Although Janklow did not answer the notice of a show-cause hearing, the proceedings heard a lot of evidence and decided to prohibit Janklow from practicing in the tribal court.

The girl, who was then 15, was Jancita Eagle Deer. She was located for AIM by one Douglas Durham in July, 1974. Although she told AIM leaders that the rumors of Janklow's act against her in 1967 were true, AIM leaders decided that without substantiation, revealing the information would not much discredit Janklow's election campaign.

It was Doug Durham who investigated further, and brought to the AIM office several FBI reports which not only helped substantiate the charge, but also indicated that the FBI may have been involved in a cover-up.

Further supporting witnesses were located, such as Peter Pitchlynn, who in 1967 had investigated the matter as a BIA policeman.

And so in October, 1974, Jancita made her charge on television in Sioux Falls. However, the charge made little difference — and in fact, might have helped to establish Janklow as a victim of an "AIM smear" as well as just one of the boys.

In November, 1974, Durham brought Jancita to St. Paul and installed her in his apartment at 916 Como St. Jancita frequently told other women associated with AIM that she was in love with Durham, and that he would marry her.

In mid-November, Durham, Jancita, and several other AIM members went to the National Indian Education Association [NIEA] Convention in Phoenix. Along the way, Jancita attempted to make a phone call from a roadside pay-phone, when Durham rushed over, struck her violently with his fist and the phone receiver, and hurled her to the ground several times. Jancita said she was only trying to call her mother.

Later, in Phoenix, Jancita came to the home of Cecil Flowers, pursued by Durham. She accused him of being an informer, but before she could go on, Durham struck her and dragged her out of the house. She was not seen again in Phoenix.

Jancita was seen with Durham again during the Alexian Abbey occupation in Menominee country in January, 1975.

And then word came that she was dead. She was killed April 4, in a hit-run accident involving a car allegedly driven by an Aurora, Nebraska, teenager, Terry L. Scott, who was accompanied by a 15-year-old passenger. In later interviews, the pair said they had seen her standing in the middle of the driving lane, trying to flag them down. They assumed she had been pushed from a car by "some guy she wouldn't put out for" and had a few laughs about this. As they sped toward her, they expected her to jump out of the way, but they struck her, flinging her body 145 feet, landing half on the road, half in the ditch.

When an autopsy was done to determine the facts of Jancita Eagle Deer's death, they noted that it seemed likely she had been hit over the head before being left on the road. However, in addition to multiple fractures and massive injuries of the lower body, there were skull fractures and neck fractures, so this could not be determined with certainty.

It was later determined from Alfred Eagle Deer, Jancita's father whom she had been visiting at Valentine, Nebraska, near the Rosebud Reservation, had seen the car she had been picked up by for the return to Des Moines on April 4 about 1 p.m. He said the car was a "late 1960s blue Chevrolet, driven by a dark-haired man." Durham's father, John F. Durham of Des Moines, owned a 1967 blue Chevrolet which his son borrowed on numerous occasions for AIM business for which he felt his van might be too conspicuous.

Durham denied knowing anything about Jancita's death, although later, in a moment of sorrow, he told AIM investigator Paula Giese, "If it wasn't for me, that girl would be alive today," although he didn't explain that statement.

"A CONSTANT FEAR OF THE SWEAT LODGE" — DURHAM'S LIFE AS AN INFORMER

[While Doug Durham was posing as an AIM member, he wrote a memo to his FBI superiors entitled, "Why It Is Difficult To Do What I Am Doing." The memorandum was reprinted in a copyright article by Alan Stang in the John Birch Socity Publication *American Opinion* for September, 1975.]

Their diet is atrocious and the sanitation conditions at AIM Saint Paul are even worse. Toilets are stopped up and the building stinks. There are mice and bugs everywhere and even rats. The water pipes leak. There is no circulation in the building. We are expected to sleep in the middle of this on a mattress on the floor. . .

The day starts at approximately 7:30 in the morning, and sometimes doesn't end until 2:00 a.m. . . Since Dennis is in court during the day, he calls upon me to handle the day-to-day operation of the Movement. It involves making decisions and taking actions that could be subject to a lot of criticism. With a stomach full of rotten food, a constant fear of the sweat lodge, woefully inadequate sanitation facilities, a strong desire to take a shower, the phone constantly ringing, attempting to prevent violent outbreak around the country without exposing myself, the constant fear of being exposed, the heavy schedule I have to maintain, along with gleaning pertinent information for the FBI, spending months away from my wife and children, and dealing with some real crazy people — the only thing worse they can do to me is con me into sundancing and piercing my chest, making me dance for four days without food and water, while staring at the sun.

Another CIA-AIM connection came in the arrests of Herb Powless, Stan Holder, Gene Heavy Runner, and Ron Petite on indictments from Phoenix Arizona, charging them with conspiracy to violate the Rap Brown Act and Civil Disobedience Act of 1968, by illegally conspiring in South Dakota to illegally acquiring guns in Phoenix for transportation to Wounded Knee.

The entire plot was the creation of a man named Lon Smith, who invented the idea, travelled to South Dakota, ultimately purchased the guns in a pawn-shop, placed them in his own car, and ultimately the defendants were charged with conspiring with him.

But then a Phoenix newspaper exposed Lon Smith in connection with a consumer fraud investigation, in which he claimed he could find soldiers missing in action for $10,000 a person. He identified himself first to a newspaper reporter, then to a retired colonel, as a person with seven years experience in the CIA, who has flown in and out of North Vietnam, and as a person with continuing relationships and contacts with persons at all levels of this and other governments. He was to be the only government witness in the case involving the AIM members until this was revealed — and then the charges were dropped.

INDIAN UPRISINGS
Renegades A.I.M.
for Communism
"Fresh graves at Wounded Knee are not easy to dismiss. They have robbed, burned, raped, kidnapped and murdered — destroyed churches, looted, committed arson . . ."
The American Indian is now under attack by the revolutionaries of A.I.M. criminal renegades armed with Soviet AK-47 assault rifles and backed by federal funds. A.I.M. has tried to create the impression of popular support but most Indians reject it because of its totalitarian philosophy and criminal activities.
Now, Mr. Eugene Rooks, a member of the Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe from Pine Ridge, South Dakota steps forward to reveal the real nature of the A.I.M. "renegades." Don't miss this fascinating talk by a genuine modern Indian leader as he stands proudly in defense of his people and against the criminals who are trying to victimize them.
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Committee

After the occupation of Wounded Knee, this poster was widely seen throughout South Dakota and Birch country, advertising various speakers telling about "Communism and AIM".

Durham In Des Moines

Another Look At Durham's Career

After Durham's stint in the Marines, and his CIA training and experience, he resurfaced in Des Moines to take employment with the Des Moines Police Department. He resigned quietly a few years later, and then came back to work with them later as an informer, apparently working closely with the chief of the force.

A scandal broke into the open involving the Des Moines police – businessmen and politicians had contributed to a special police fund, and a grand jury was convened to look into wrong-doings. Their report dealt in some detail with Doug Durham.

"Douglass Durham was requested to resign as a member of the Des Moines Police Department for reasons which more fully appear in his police department personnel records," the grand jury report reads. "The Grand Jury will not repeat the facts contained therein, but nevertheless notes that the reasons for Durham's requested resignation was well-founded."

The matter the grand jury so carefully skirted about the reason for Durham's resignation is sordid. His first wife was eight months pregnant. They had quarreled about his "crooked cop" activities – he had been under investigation for involvement in prostitution and accepting bribes from burglars. Durham beat her brutally, and on July 6, 1964, she died.

Investigators of her death considered a manslaughter charge, and he was examined by a police psychiatrist. He pronounced Durham a "paranoid schizoid personality" with "uncontrollable outbursts of violence", "unable to tell right from wrong" and "unfit for employment involving public trust." It was recommended that he be committed to an institution for treatment, but the investigation was dropped.

Three weeks after his wife's death, he married one of his "girls". His position with the police force was terminated in October, 1964.

After that, Durham ran several roadhouses as a front for Mafia interests. Here he was involved in gambling, drugs, and exchange and purchase of stolen goods. In some burglaries, he was directly involved, such as the theft of TV sets from the G.W. Onthank Warehouse – he was caught, but charges were dropped and the matter hushed up. He got investigated by local police for involvement with heroin smuggling, as well as gangland hi-jackings.

In 1969, Durham said he was involved with a group of burglars "without notifying or working for anybody. I was doing it in an over-zealous attempt to gain." He botched one job, and was arrested for receiving and concealing stolen airplane parts.

Durham relates how he hired an attorney, "a nice Italian fellow who had been attorney general for the state of Iowa at one time [who] was defending quite a few criminals in the area at the time." "The witness against me never showed up," Durham explains the reason the case was finally dismissed. "This witness disappeared and nobody's ever heard from him since."

Durham said that he was seen then by the police department "as somebody who headed one of the largest criminal organizations in the state – even though I was reporting to the Government at times..."

The grand jury also noted Durham was arrested and tried in Warren County for robbery. The jury found him guilty of larceny, but on appeal to the Iowa Supreme Court, the conviction was reversed on the technicality that Durham was charged with the wrong crime in the wrong county. "This incident occurred during the same period Durham was acting in an undercover capacity for the Des Moines Police Department," the grand jury found.

According to the state supreme court records in the matter of *State of Iowa v. Douglas Frank Durham* [196 NWR 2 p. 428], the facts of the case stood unchallenged, however. Durham had involved his insurance agent, Thomas Geesemen, in a scheme to gain access to funds stolen by President Lyndon Johnson's scandal-ridden aide, Billy Sol Estes. The funds were said to have been "laundered" by the Mafia in Mexico. Geesemen got cold feet and went to the sheriff. Durham was arrested when he tried – with a gun – to force Geesemen to turn over $1500 for "bail for one of the fellows who got caught." Testimony showed the trial had been held in Warren County rather than Polk County because Polk was Durham's territory, and the trials would be rigged in his favor.

All this spectacular career, however, is glossed over as reported by the John Birch Society, something like this: "Durham moved up from street patrol to the vice squad, then left the department and went into the food business, where he wound up with a string of three restaurants. One of them was located in a nasty neighborhood, and was frequented by Black Panthers and other crooks, such as safecrackers – and the FBI approached Mr. Durham with the request that he keep the Bureau informed." According to Alan Stang's article in *American Opinion*, the Birch journal, there are even a few more glamorized details:

"Later, Douglass Durham worked for the Des Moines police chief as a paid intelligence agent; for the federal immigration and customs authorities; and for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs," Stang writes.

Aside from his abilities as his own public relations man, Durham also kept up on his skills from his CIA days. He was good with cameras and bugs, and apparently took on police assignments involving spying and entrapment. He protected himself from prosecution through a combination of prostitution and blackmail. On the AIM tapes, Durham tells how he "caught a judge in a cathouse" and apparently blackmailed him. His general method was to set up police and law enforcement officials, as well as politicians and businessmen, by using secret cameras taking their pictures in compromising positions with prostitutes. He then blackmailed these influential men when he needed to avert trouble.

He told AIM's lawyers a tale of his years of undercover work, including infiltrating counterfeiting gangs. He liked the doublecross tactic – on September 25, 1971, two burglars convicted of breaking into a greenhouse won a new trial when it was proved that Durham had planned the job, talked them into it, driven them around casing for likely spots, broken in for them with his own burglary tools, cracked the safe for them, and then ducked out to call the police.

Oddly, perhaps unwittingly, the U.S. apparently furnished a partial report on Durham's real criminal record to some leaders of the Wisconsin's "White Citizens' Action Movement", known as WHAM, during Durham's period of prominence as an AIM leader while the Alexian Novitiate was occupied by the Menominee Warriors' Society last January. Kevin McKiernan, a newsman/photographer for alternate media, obtained an hour-long interview with several of the vigilante leaders just after the occupation – and before Durham's FBI role had been exposed.

On the tape, the vigilantes tell McKiernan that they were furnished Durham's police record by local police

among their group's membership. From this record, they considered him to be highly placed in organized crime, "a mob hit-man for the Mafia and for AIM". They delegated six men to kill him if any of WHAM's leaders were "hit". They obviously believed that AIM was fully aware of Durham's record, and viewed AIM as sort of an Indian branch of the Mafia.

AIM was not aware of Durham's record, however. AIM attorneys did a standard police check on everyone having access to confidential legal information before the St. Paul trials began, and they were informed by Des Moines Police, the FBI, and the Justice Department that Durham had been employed as a Des Moines policeman from 1962-64, had resigned, and that he had a clean record.

WKLDOC lawyers have been denied access to a huge stack of FBI reports about and by Durham which were produced in a court hearing. They believe the reports would show that Durham not only had tipped the U.S. off on defense strategies, but that he also had interfered in the defense. Alabama attorney Robert Bryan, who had been involved for a time in the defense of Dennis Banks in the Custer trials, says that Durham stole defense materials from his office in the autumn of 1973. WKLDOC attorneys feel that access to Durham's records would result in reversals in many Indian cases on grounds of governmental misconduct.

Lawsuits have been filed under the Freedom of Information Act to compel the FBI, CIA, and other U.S. intelligence organizations to turn over their files on the American Indian Movement. Attorneys also are threatening civil action against Durham personally.

Although Senator Frank Church's Senate Intelligence Committee has interviewed Durham on the ties between the FBI and CIA and organized crime, they did not seem to get as much evidence as AIM's own investigators got on Durham's alleged links between organized crime and federal police and intelligence agencies.

Normally, a federal agency has ten days to release the required data. AIM said suits for damages might be filed against federal agencies for illegal disruption of its chapters or programs pursuing legal activities.

Persons having faith in the Church Committee's investigations may want to demand that the Durham link be thoroughly investigated as a start toward uncovering both the CIA's repression/terrorism programs, such as Operation CHAOS which had targeted AIM, and also CIA's cooperation in the heroin traffic through organized crime.

Durham In The John Birch Society

Since Douglas Durham returned to the public eye as a "lecturer", his speaking tours have been anything but dull. He has travelled through South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and now is reportedly headed for California.

During his public speaking tours, Durham has been meeting privately with politicians and law enforcement officials. He has met with persons associated with right-wing paramilitary operations, and members of a new vigilante organization known as "Posse Comitatus" which appears to be led and funded through FBI operatives previously involved in the terrorist "Secret Army Organization" based in Southern California.

Durham tells his audiences that money from the National Council of Churches as well as federal dollars have been financing AIM's activities, and that thousands of persons associated with the National Council of Churches had been linked to Communist front groups.

"Never before have the revolutionary groups been so well served by the Government they intend to subvert," Durham says, accurately mimicking the conservative party line. Durham says that Indians and others who have joined AIM in the belief they were "doing something for civil rights" were the unwitting dupes of Communism.

Durham pretends he regrets working for the FBI, because his position was exposed through some unknown governmental leak. However, many persons who were his strongest support within AIM had become inactive because of legal actions they faced, and he had less and less to do of value to intelligence gathering. Blowing his old FBI cover has only given him more credibility in his current assignment.

Everywhere he goes, Durham distributes privately and often mentions publicly on radio or TV the names and addresses of AIM supporters, and of church, community, or union people who have been helpful. AIM believes his purpose is to mark these individuals for attack by vigilantes and crackpots.

Durham appears not only in the news, but on radio and TV talk programs as well.

To those who have some residual sympathy for Indian causes, Durham sympathizes that "AIM does not represent all Indian people." He urges people to become more informed about Indians, and not to be against all Indians with long hair. "Please don't form the wrong opinions," he cautions.

The Attack on Mahnomen Survival Farm

On November 5, Durham spoke to a closed unpublicized meeting of the John Birch Society, co-sponsored by the "American Party," a right-wing political group, in Bemidji, Minnesota, about 40 miles from a tribal farm on the White Earth Reservation leased out to the American Indian Movement. Jerry Roy, coordinator at the farm, and Doug Olsen, a non-Indian AIM supporter with a press pass, were able to get into the meeting, which was tape-recorded.

In the session, Durham claimed that "reservation Indians everywhere" reject AIM because "it is part of a Communist plot." Durham announced that the national AIM offices, running short of funds and tiring of urban life, had been recently moved to the AIM Farm, once a private ranch which had been purchased back by the White Earth Tribe. Durham described the move to White Earth as "a takeover of the reservation" and said it would be "more violent than Wounded Knee."

During Durham's stay at Bemidji, other clandestine meetings were held with local law enforcement officials and county officials. Several Minneapolis Tactical Squad police were seen in the area for several days before November 11.

On that day, Vernon Bellecourt, national AIM director, was away on a speaking engagement. A force of vigilantes came to the AIM Farm in a violent attack in which Jerry Roy was critically injured. The attackers knew what they were after – although the offices were in disarray from the recent move, the most important financial records were located and burned.

"Durham is definitely aware that many of the financial allegations he has made about AIM – who is supplying money, how much, what it is used for, paid and unpaid bills – could have easily been disproved by those records," an AIM press statement said.

Bloodshed Over Durham in Milwaukee

Durham had been speaking throughout South Dakota to white right-wing audiences, apparently without too many problems. But when he hit Eau Claire, Wisconsin, he was confronted with a crowd with lots of questions. Sitting in the front row was Paula Giese, an AIM supporter, who was holding a sheaf of documents relating to Durham. He panicked, and split before questions could be asked.

When Durham appeared in Milwaukee on November 19, he was again followed by a native Truth Squad. This time, however, they were refused admission to the War Memorial Auditorium where Durham was scheduled, and a bloody club-swinging attack by police resulted in 20 arrests.

A delegation of about 70 Indians and Chicanos insisted on their right to enter and question Durham during a scheduled question period. They pointed to the advertising poster which said that tickets were a "$3 donation".

Timothy Enders, John Birch Society coordinator for Milwaukee, said the group could not attend without tickets. However, when some of the group tried to pay for a ticket, Enders still refused, saying, "You are not invited."

The delegation decided to sit down in the lobby until they were allowed entry. It was then that two squads of riot-geared police waded in. Among those arrested was Father James Groppi, a priest who has been active in civil rights causes. 13 of those arrested were charged with "unlawful assembly."

Groppi, the veteran of scores of demonstrations, said the police action was totally unnecessary. He said the sit-in was non-violent, and if the police had asked him to leave, he would have said no, and been arrested peacefully. Instead, he was hit in the head twice. Blood stained the floors as the demonstrators were led away.

"I never saw anything so brutal," said Mark LaRoque, 27, a counselor at Milwaukee Area Technical College. "Women and children were hit. One kid was smacked across the face. It was something out of 1984."

Durham's next stop was Green Bay, but there spectators were confronted with only a tape recorder playing out Durham's words. About 115 persons sat quietly staring at the empty podium to listen to the message. One observer mentioned that Durham hadn't missed much by not attending his speech.

Durham said he had to run out on question periods and scheduled speeches because "AIM is trying to interfere with my freedom of speech because they are afraid of the truth."

John Birch Society officials said Durham had decided not to remain to speak for "security reasons." However, AIM officials say that Durham doesn't need to worry about them as far as his own security is concerned – he is more useful to AIM alive than dead.

Any danger to Durham, AIM points out, is far more likely to come from his current confidants and colleagues, who might not take as kindly to informers and provocateurs among them, or who might decide that Durham knows too much.

As a Bircher, Durham has learned to spread the line that AIM is "an important part of the international Communist scheme to enslave mankind."

While Russell Means has said in press interviews that "AIM will blow out the candles on the birthday cake," Durham says that AIM leaders are really saying, "They will celebrate the Bicentennial over our blood. We will promise you a revolution in 1976. It's better to die in the street than go down without a whimper," he claims in a poor paraphrase.

"And they talked about guerilla activity and hit-teams," Durham alarms. He said that meant "many attacks on government buildings throughout the country, particularly federal buildings in cities, sniping in particular. They've planned it along Interstate 90 through South Dakota," he says. Such fearsome statements will surely help AIM's call for tourists to boycott South Dakota until it improves its Indian relationships.

"In short," writes Stang, "the American Indian Movement isn't Indian, but it's Red. It was founded by Reds for revolutionary purposes, and is an important new part of the international Communist apparatus."

In June, 1975, Durham prepared a confidential memorandum stating that AIM was leading a "Coalition of Minority Groups" consisting of the Black Liberation Army, The Los Tres Committee of California, Casa, the Irish Republican Army, the Peoples Republic of China, German Liberation Youth Group, and even the Dog Soldier Society. He said the Coalition would soon kick off such revolutionary activities as bombing and sniping.

Durham repeats the often-heard John Birch Society line that people like David Rockefeller, Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger are in an international conspiracy to move the U.S. into "world government which will destroy our republic." They say AIM is involved with numerous "violent revolutionary groups" ranging from the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations and the World Council of Churches – proof that they are in league with the Rockefeller-Nixon-Kissinger forces. Somehow, Birch minds don't boggle at the thought of Dennis Banks conspiring with Henry Kissinger and Chairman Mao for world takeover.

The right-wing of U.S. thought is by no means united. There are those, such as Gerald L.K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, which believes even the John Birch Society is a Jewish plot to take over the U.S. Others are so far to the right that they think conservatives such as Ronald Reagan are leftists.

The John Birch Society has been led to believe that AIM leaders are in the pay of "white conspirators who manipulate our government and who are trying to seize the whole country by using the Indians and others as cannon-fodder."

Furthermore, they have come to think that if Indian people would regain their sovereignty, then AIM would impose a system of government that "would make the present Reservations seem like the Happy Hunting Ground. In it, the Indians would be slaves of the most ruthless dictatorship known to history."

The John Birch Society's paper proposes that Indians have what they call "genuine independence" – meaning not only the abolishment of the BIA, but the reservations as well, "leaving them alone to live on their present land or wherever they like; to work at what they want; to go into business or the professions or farming, as other independent Americans of all colors do now." Thus the Bircher view of sovereignty is at the level of the individual, while native people are seeking sovereignty as a group.

A GLIMPSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS 1984 AS THE WOUNDED KNEE LEGAL CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

The legal campaign against the American Indian Movement has continued for almost three years now, waged by an army of civil servants and police and prosecutors who never have to worry about where their rent money or supper for their children is coming from. These salaried officials are backed up with millions of dollars of travel money, investigators, secretaries, and all the technology and information the U.S. can command.

support groups mobilized on the exciting action. But gradually, most got tired or went on to other things, and now the thin line holding one of the scales of the supposedly-blindfolded justice is a skimpy-but-dedicated team of seven people working out of Rapid City, an even smaller legal team in Sioux Falls, a legal support committee in Wichita, and three people working on the reservation at Pine Ridge.

support committee in Wichita, and three people working right on the reservation.

"We got five dollars in donations in the mail today," a legal worker told AKWESASNE NOTES people who spent the night at the WKLDOC house in Rapid City on their recent trip west. "We used it right away to photo-copy documents we needed to file an appeal." There was no food in the house — the last had been used for a snack that passed for supper several hours before. There is just one meal served daily for the legal workers.

For an attorney from the city, operating in Rapid City is hassle enough. There is harassment from townspeople and court officials alike, and lawyers have to deal with their own culture shock before they can be fully useful — if they decide to stay. "We're just finding out about a lot of things," Jack Schwartz said. "The last group left the same day we arrived."

The telephone on the legal office on the reservation had been turned off, and the company wanted a massive deposit before they'd reconnect.

WKLDOC's lone 11-year-old automobile was requiring a major overhaul, and while several Lakota's had volunteered the labor, the cost of parts was holding up the needed repairs. Eviction notices are an every-day affair, with the rent somehow coming together once each month. The offices are crowded, and must double for living and working.

All three South Dakota WKLDOC offices were the targets of raids during October. In Rapid City, eight FBI agents without warrants searched the defense committee office and assaulted staff members. Legal files were gone through for a long period of time while the WKLDOC staff were kept at bay. In Sioux Falls, the agents kicked in doors and held a lawyer and legal worker at gunpoint while they ransacked files and personal belongings, again, without warrants. Agents also assaulted, harassed, and held hostage with M-16s for several hours the staff of the Oglala office on the reservation.

WKLDOC has been turned down so far in their efforts to obtain an injunction against FBI actions. Petitions and resolutions passed by the chairmen of the United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota — generally a conservative group — have been ignored.

Yet the battle being fought from that one little house in Rapid City is of tremendous importance in the future of U.S. history. Already, landmark decisions have been successfully argued by WKLDOC lawyers, and more important cases are still ahead for them. Just in human terms, providing defense for the scores of poor Lakotas being cornered into submission makes WKLDOC's task urgent and important.

At least one WKLDOC car and home have been shotgunned. Three legal workers were arrested on the reservation August 1 after informing Oglalas they had the legal right not to talk with the FBI. LAst February, a carload of legal workers were stomped on by a band of armed men led by tribal council chairman Dick Wilson.

There are even problems from local lawyers. WKLDOC people have been refused the use of the local law library and have to drive four or more hours to other communities to do their legal research. Judge Andrew Bogue caused such a problem for out-of-state lawyers that two of the current attorneys, Jack Schwartz and Bruce Ellison, took the South Dakota Bar examination and had completed all the paper work for being admitted to the bar. However, Bogue refused at least four times to swear them in to practice in his court, claiming his calendar is too crowded, and he needs to do more checking on them. His law clerk told Ellison that Bogue wanted to be sure they weren't "card-carrying Communists".

The WKLDOC staff have compiled an impressive record of wins, despite these handicaps.

However, without additional staff and the funds to operate, they cannot even begin to provide legal assistance. A fund-raiser, communications workers, and paralegal help are particularly needed, as well as attorneys willing to take on a caseload or to provide back-up help.

While there have been many dark moments in the U.S.' legal history, there will be many more in the future for all U.S. people if the current legal battle being waged against native people is not fought on equal terms. Should the present struggle continue against such overwhelming odds, people might in the future have occasion to re-read the accounts of the Indian Trials of the 1970s to understand that by their failure to respond to the Lakota plea for help, they only are getting the legal system they deserve.

For WKLDOC, the last trial arising directly from the occupation of Wounded Knee ended quietly and almost unnoticed November 13 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Unlike the earlier leadership cases where there was glamor and glitter and floodlights, the trial of Bernard Escamilla hardly created a ripple.

As with most of the other cases, though, the trial ended in at least a partial victory. Escamilla began the trial with five felony counts left from an original 11-count indictment. He ended the trial with an acquittal on a charge of assaulting a federal officer, and with conviction on a charge of possession of a gun by a convicted felon. That conviction resulted from a photograph of Escamilla with a rifle in his hand.

Escamilla was charged with shooting FBI agent Curtis Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald had been shot in the hand while he was in a high-speed chase of a van during a time when roadblocks were down in the early days of the Wounded Knee occupation. Earlier this year, Escamilla was involved in another trial in which a serious felony assault was reduced to a misdemeanor and he was sentenced to serve 90 days in jail.

Escamilla's hearing was held in Bismark before Juge Bruce Von Sickle. He was tried with 13 other defendants, all charged with interfering with federal officers in the lawful course of their duty. Earlier, other cases involving the same charges and same facts had been dismissed when the courts found that federal officers were not in the lawful course of their duty because of illegal participation by the Pentagon.

Van Sickle looked over 400 exhibits, reviewed 8,000 pages of transcripts from other trials, read 200 pages of legal briefs, heard two days of oral argument, and deliberated for two months before dismissing four defendants. Four others had charges dropped before the hearing was over.

As the occupation proceeded, people gained courage from their united actions, and long-range demands became evident: sovereignty, recognition of the Treaty of 1868, Oglala control of Oglala land, restoration of traditional government.

Although in the long run, the courts have vindicated the occupiers of Wounded Knee, the price paid by the Oglalas and their supporters has been tremendous. Not only did the trials themselves bring about hardship and worry, but the fact of their victory has brought even greater torment and oppression to come into already-strained lives.

The Wounded Knee trials had gone on since January, 1974, one of the most massive sets of political indictments in U.S. history. The trials of Dennis Banks and Russell Means took nine months in St. Paul — while the trials of Leonard Crow Dog, Carter Camp, and Stan Holder took four days in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, last June. All were found guilty, but Camp and Holder did not appear for sentencing. Crow Dog was placed on probation over the objections of R.D. Hurd, who prosecuted both "leadership" trials for the U.S.

Two of the Wounded Knee trials lasted less than twenty minutes. Non-leadership cases were tried in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Lincoln, Nebraska; Council Bluffs, Iowa; and Bismark, North Dakota — sometimes, it seemed, simultaneously. At the end of three successive run-away grand juries, there were 147 indictments, mostly of Oglala people from the Pine Ridge Reservation. The grand juries started sitting even before the siege on Wounded Knee was over, and continued until May, 1974.

Because the citizenry in reservation areas are notoriously prejudiced against Indians, the defense agreed to trial by judge alone, waiving rights to a jury trial. However, after the WKLDOC lawyers won three decisions in a row, it was the U.S. Government which demanded a jury trial. Also, after the U.S. lost the trial of Banks and Means, it refused to have further cases tried in Minnesota, on the grounds that the people of the state were prejudiced against the U.S. Government.

Out of the original 147 indictments, there were 19 trials, and one special hearing involving all 44 defendants. The U.S. dropped all other indictments as its losing average got worse and worse. However, even for those who finally went free, most had to spend almost two years with the threat of trials and imprisonment hanging over their heads. In some instances, the U.S. dropped Wounded Knee charges after it was able to imprison defendants on other alleged incidents unrelated to Wounded Knee.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars were tied up in bail moneys. One defendant who did not come to trial was Pedro Bissonette — he was killed by BIA police othe Pine Ridge Reservation. The U.S. refused to return his bail money even after his death.

Out of the whole occupation of Wounded Knee, the U.S. was able to obtain only fifteen convictions, including one plea of no contest, one plea of guilty, and one plea that was bargained.

— Juan Reyna/AKWESASNE NOTES photo
The Bulletin Board at the WKLDOC Office in Rapid City

Because of U.S. objections, most of the court hearings dealt with the bare facts of the indictments and not much more — why the occupation occurred and what took place there were not considered relevant. But one hearing which got to meaty issues was held last winter before Judge Warren Urbom in Lincoln, Nebraska.

In a ten-day hearing, traditional people, chiefs, historians, scholars, and lawyers explained the Treaty of Fort Laramie, 1868, and how under terms of that treaty, the defenders of Wounded Knee were acting within their rights. Urbom weighed the evidence and the legal precedents for six weeks, and then in an obviously labored and painful decision, he ruled that any action based onrecognition of the treaty had to come from Washington, not from the courts. That decision is under appeal.

The convictions of the Wounded Knee defendants was appealed to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, which held a hearing on October 18. A three-judge panel — Gerald Heaney, Myron Bright, and William Webster — heard lawyers say the convictions should be overturned because under the 1868 Sioux Treaty, the U.S.A. was not given criminal jurisdiction on Indian lands.

Also, it said, the convictions are invalid because FBI informer Douglas Durham had been intimately involved in defense strategy sessions, violating lawyer-client privacy.

Vine Deloria, Sioux attorney and author of a number of best-selling books, told the judges that jurisdiction still lies with the Lakota Nation. The 1868 Treaty establishes the Sioux as a sovereign nation, governed by their own rules and system of law.

However, Duane Nelson, special assistant U.S. Attorney, said the courts have held previously that the federal government has passed laws superceding the 1868 treaty. However, he could not cite any specific document showing when the U.S. Government had assumed its jurisdiction.

The WKLDOC needs an experienced fund-raiser for a month or so, to train another person. It needs money and food stamps to operate. It needs lawyers, and paralegal workers. It needs student newspapers, radio stations, and local people to get the news out. For further information, contact:

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
POBox 2307
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701
telephone (605) 348-5846

The agreement ending the siege on Wounded Knee called for a thorough investigation of tribal government,action against those involved in corrupt tribal practices, and for protection for residents against the abuses of tribal government. There were to have been thorough discussions with U.S. officials about the Treaty of 1868. The agreement was broken within a half-hour after the siege ended, and nothing of depth was done thereafter.

A top-level interdepartmental task force to look into Pine Ridge problems and found the treaty issue was of vital importance, must be dealt with, and offered some solutions. However, when the Interior Department issued its final report, these insights were censored out by Stan Duremas, taskforce chairman.

When the U.S. lost most of its court cases against Wounded Knee participants, the Government began a new strategy, arresting native activists in what the American Indian Movement asserts are trumped-up charges designed to tie up their energy in extended legal battles and to intimidate their supporters into submission for a quiet Bicentennial.

Because the press has ignored the federal influence on the reservation in its support of the Wilson administration, and has instead emphasized American Indian Movement militance, the government complicity in reservation ills and the 43 murders in 18 months is disguised. White American acts as a detached observer, save in the belief that it would be wrong to interfere with Indians fighting it out among themselves.

Beatings, firebombings, harassment, paramilitary maneuvers have received little attention from U.S. journalists – but then again, neither have people gotten much concerned with the reservation's winter unemployment rate of over 70%, its dilapidated housing, nor an alcholism rate five times the national average.

The reservation is divided into eight districts, each with its own group of government-built cluster houses, plus isolated compounds of wooden cabins and farm structures. Pine Ridge, however, where the BIA and tribal government offices are located, is relatively well-developed with affluent split-level homes of tribal and BIA bureaucrats. For the rest, there is only a small store, perhaps a post office, maybe a gas station.

The districts are connected by a network of narrow unlit highways, and the well-to-do homesteads of the white ranchers are rarely visible from the main roads.

At one time, each area supported an active community life – now the residents retreat into their houses at nightfall and sit, many of them armed, behind darkened windows, watching and waiting. Even the streets of Pine Ridge Village are virtually deserted on a Saturday night, the silence broken only by the cruising BIA police cars.

The current crop of FBI men at Pine Ridge are not the smooth G-men of TV drama fame. They wear jeans, cowboy boots and hats, wear their side-arms on a gunbelt, and swagger about like town bullies, taunting Lakotas and obviously enjoying their power.

In fact, legal workers believe that the FBI is primarily interested in intimidating people, rather than gaining information. Fear is the "dominant force" on the reservation. As Lew Gurwitz, a WKLDOC worker says, "Indians are seeing a side of the Government and the FBI most white people never see."

Even people who managed to withstand the indignities of lifelong poverty and the tensions of the Wounded Knee siege and its aftermath have been plain worn down by this latest assault on their humanity, and some are too frightened to leave their homes any more than necessary.

At the invitation of the Jumping Bull family, a group of Oglala Legal Defense workers moved into a home on their property, the site of the June 26 deaths of the two FBI agents and Joseph Kills Right.

They were visited by a dozen FBI agents on October 22. When the agents were told they would have to leave unless they had written authorization from the owners or a search warrant, one agent replied, "We are here whether you like it or not."

Legal workers said they were insulted by the agents and shoved around. Confronted by three women legal workers, the agents prefaced all their remarks with "Sugar", "Honey", or "Baby". The agents refused to show any warrant or identification, the workers said.

Agents came another day, and said they were looking for something, and they wouldn't leave until they found it. "The agents were really belligerent and ugly," one legal worker said. "It bore no resemblance to an investigation. They had the place completely surrounded and were all set to pounce as soon as anyone did anything they could possibly arrest them for."

"THE MINER'S CANARY AN ENDANGERED SPECIES IN AMERICA"

"You Must Appear Forthwith"

1984 came a little closer as FBI agents started issuing unsigned, unsealed, undated subpoenas ordering people to appear "forthwith" before a Rapid City grand jury investigating the deaths of two FBI men June 26 at Oglala.

Wanda Siers was forced to leave her six-month-old baby, sick with measles, to head for Rapid City voluntarily or face arrest by the FBI for failure to appear. Lou and Billy Bean were ordered by agents to head for Rapid City, even though their six children would come home from school unaware of their parents' absence.

In Rapid City, 11-year-old Jimmy Zimmerman was picked up by FBI and taken before the grand jury. He was asked where he was June 26, but he said he would not testify without an attorney. He stood on his rights, and finally was released when even R.D. Hurd could not bring himself to charge an 11-year-old with contempt of court. Zimmerman had already gotten his political education during the siege on the Jumping Bull house near where the FBI agents had died. He had come out of the house with his hands held high, shouting at the hundreds of policemen to stop shooting. However, police continued firing on him, and he was forced to take cover in an outhouse.

Also taken before the grand jury was Jean Bordeaux. She was not subpoened, but instead was placed under arrest as a "material witness". She was placed in the lock-up despite a doctor's appointment for much-needed medical attention. Judge Andrew Bogue said he had ordered her arrest to ensure that she would appear, although she had never been subpoened previously.

It was her second arrest in months – she had been held after the Kansas Turnpike incident in September.

Although Hurd had threatened to re-subpoena some 30 or 40 persons from the reservation, he called only two more, brought in from the Pennington County Jail. They were Angie and Avis Long Visitor, who had been jailed since September 16 for refusing to testify before earlier grand jury sessions.

The Long Visitors had stood on their treaty rights, insisting that the grand jury had no business on the reservation. They had appealed their case, but their application for bail during the waiting period was denied. They took the matter as far as the U.S. Supreme Court, which declined to grant bail. That made it clear the Long Visitors would have to testify – they have three children under four years of age, and the conditions in the Rapid City jail are intolerable. The couple were not allowed to visit each other, even on visiting days.

Actually, the FBI had already implicated all persons now arrested for the slayings even before the grand jury was convened. Prosecutors had asked for high bonds on two persons arrested in other incidents on the grounds that they were involved in the June 26 FBI deaths.

The re-convening of the grand jury was carefully concealed from lawyers from the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, who had been representing the Long Visitors. U.S. Attorneys had told WKLDOC lawyers it would take a week or two to get the grand jury together, but the U.S. would not object to releasing the Long Visitors if they would promise to reappear. When they appeared in Judge Bogue's court to give that pledge, Bogue said the grand jury would be ready to hear their testimony in a half-hour. Government officials knew that lawyers who had represented the Long Visitors previously would be out of town at that time.

Joanna LeDéaux had been returning to Oglala from Rapid City on the morning of June 26 when she was stopped by FBI agent David Price, who commandeered to car to be driven to the area of the shooting. He had blown up his own car engine in his haste to return there after delivering a prisoner to Hot Springs, South Dakota.

They arrived to find police shooting at the homes where Joanna knew women and children and old people lived. The FBI say they ordered firing to cease while Joanna, a legal worker, entered the area. The firing continued, however. After leaving the area, she returned bearing a signed authorization from the White Clay District Tribal Council for her to mediate in the shooting, to seek a cease fire on their behalf.

Although federal law prohibits mediators and arbitrators from divulging information relative to the situation they enter, Judge Bogue says that this requirement does not hold in the case of an alleged murder, although the law itself does not seem to make this distinction.

Beyond this, she states that as a legal worker under the jurisdiction of the traditional governing body of the Lakota Nation, she is not required to give evidence to the grand jury.

Because of her stance, she had been singled out for more-than-the-usual harassment. The home where she had been staying was on more than one occasion encircled by heavily-armed FBI agents. Finally, the FBI obtained a warrant for her arrest as a material witness, a term which implies that exact knowledge of a specific crime is known – which is not true in her case. The warrant was issued on July 12, but she was not arrested until late August at her parent's home, although her exact wherabouts were known to the FBI constantly.

Joanna LeDeaux is separated from her Danish-national husband, Poul Johannesen. He had come to the U.S. to visit their two children who had been staying with their grandparents in Sioux Falls ever since the Oglala shootings. Poul headed east from Sioux Falls by airplane on Sunday morning, August 24 at 7 a.m., and by 8:30, six FBI agents in the company of a Sioux Falls uniformed patrolman pushed their way past Joanna's 12-year-old son, and entered the home to arrest her. She was sleeping at the time, but agents refused her demand that she be allowed to dress. When asked to show an arrest or search warrant, they replied, "We don't need one."

Joanna was taken to jail, and later before U.S. Magistrate David Vroman. The U.S. wanted to hold her on $50,000 bail until September 2, when the grand jury was scheduled to meet.

It was in Chicago that Poul Johannesen changed planes. He was met by FBI agents from the Chicago office, accompanied by two FBI flown all the way from Pine Ridge – David Price and Dean Hughes, the SWAT leader from the June 26 assault on the Oglala houses. Poul says the FBI threatened with having "the shit beat out of him". They told him he would not be allowed back in the U.S. to visit his children, that he had been harboring a fugitive, even though she had committed no crime. Most seriously, they threatened Poul with having the children taken into "protective custody", suggesting that if the children returned to Pine Ridge with Joanna, both children would be killed.

Joanna was eventually released on Monday, August 24, on $5,000 personal recognizance bond by Federal Judge Fred Nichol.

[Continued on next page]

When she appeared on September 2, she refused to testify on the grounds of Lakota sovereignty. She reappeared on September 16, and on September 22, Judge Bogue ordered her, as well as Angie and Ivis Long Visitor, jailed for contempt. Bail was refused even though the case was being appealed immediately. Joanna was given no time to seeto the care of her children, and she was taken immediately to the Pennington County Jail in Rapid City. Three weeks later, Bogue ordered her transferred to the South Dakota Women's Penitentiary at the Yankton State Hospital.

Many persons say they have been offered bribes by the FBI to give false evidence. Offers have ranged from $200 to $1,000 and sometimes include a new car. Tony Bush, Claire Not Help Him, Jonas Belt, Jr., Wayne High Hawk, and Doley One Eyes have each told of such offers.

Latonna Plenty Wolf is 15 years old. She and another teen-aged friend, Ben Leonard, were questioned at the Oglala Community School by FBI agent Michael Neville, who misrepresented himself as a teacher. Later, Neville came to Latonna's home, ordered out of bed and into his car, and continued his interrogation. When she refused to answer, he subpoenaed her to the Grand Jury hearings.

Legal workers say that Neville was a close friend of the deceased agents, and has declared the investigations a personal vendetta.

In serving their subpoenas, the FBI frequently appear in groups of 30 to 40 agents, dressed in fatigues and carrying M-16s. They do not use an interpreter, although many Lakota do not speak English. One man in his late 80s died of a heart attack after he and his wife – neither of whom spoke English – were threatened and intimidated in their home.

On days when the grand jury is checking into "Indian problems", security is tight at the front door of the courthouse. Only people on the guard's list are allowed in. Yet on days the grand jury is hearing testimony on such things as illegal track betting, there is no security at all.

Some double standard seems to be operating from the grand jury. When Dick Wilson and the goon squad beat up a whole crew of white lawyers and their defendants, the grand jury only came down on them with misdemeanor assault charges – and even these were not handled in federal courts. Wilson had the tribal court handle the matter, and his men were fined $10 and $8 court costs. However, the same grand jury indicted four AIM members on felony charges of assault with deadly weapons for an incident the same day when they were chased from the Pine Ridge courthouse where one of them was on trial, bygoons armed with automatic weapons. The goons were not charged at all in that incident.

Historically, the grand jury was envisioned as a means of protecting individuals from the arbitrary power of state authority under English law. It is supposed to function as "the conscience of the community". Its purpose is to determine whether the government has sufficient evidence to cause a person to face trial for a serious crime.

In 1970, however, the Organized Crime Control Act authorized the creation of special grand juries to investigate the violation of specific statutes and look for evidence. With that power, the U.S. has been using the grand jury to intimidate and repress groups and individuals viewed as threatening.

The grand jury's use in this way was the work of now-convicted Watergate felons John Mitchell and Robert Mardian. While the former Justice Department officials are gone now, the investigative grand jury remains. Under the U.S. Constitution, the grand jurors are expected to be independent of the prosecutor, even mistrustful. But now they work hand-in-hand, or better, being led hand-in-hand, by the prosecution in harassing the innocent, rather than protecting them.

One woman spent seven months in prison for refusing to answer such questions as this one: "I want you to tell the grand jury what period of time during the years 1969 and 1970 you resided at 2201 Ocean Front Walk, Venice, who resided there at the time you lived there, identifying all persons you have seen in or about the premises at that address, and tell the grand jury all of the conversations that were held by you or others in your presence during the time you were at that address."

A diversity of groups have been targeted recently, ranging from the lesbian community in Lexington and New Haven to the Lakota community of Pine Ridge. The way the jury is being used now, the jurors aren't even being asked to make a decision. They just sit there while the prosecuting attorney uses the peculiar powers of the grand jury to force people to talk in an effort to gather information which the government can't get in any other way.

The kind of pressure which the grand jury can exert is heavy and insidious. There being no charge against the person interviewed, he does not have the constitutional rights of a defendant. Once he has been granted "immunity", he cannot plead the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination. He is not allowed representation by an attorney.

Legal opposition to the abuse of the grand jury is being organized. For more information, contact:

Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse
930 F St., N.W. 1900,
Washington, D.C. 20004

Another group issuing a newsletter is:
Grand Jury Project
of the New York Women's Union
853 Broadway Room 1415
New York, N.Y. 10003
telephone (212) 533-2299

Letters of support for Joanne LeDeaux may be addressed to:

POBox 76
Yankton, South Dakota 57078

WEEDING THE GARDEN PLOT.....

On November 25, a U.S. grand jury in Rapid City indicted four native men for first-degree premeditated murder in the deaths of two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation June 26. Joe Stuntz Kills Right was also fatally wounded on that same day, but there have been no charges or investigation into his death.

The four indicted men are 19-year-old Jimmy Eagle, an Oglala from Pine Ridge, who had already been previously indicted September 5; Leonard Peltier, a Rosebud Sioux from Grand Forks, North Dakota, who has been underground since last winter; Robert Robideaux, a Sioux from Cheyenne River, who has been in jail in Wichita, Kansas, on $125,000 bond since September, and Dino Butler of the Rouge River People in Oregon, who has been in jail in Pierre, South Dakota, since the raid on Crow Dog's Paradise September 5, held on a high bail bond.

Significantly, three of the four men charged were already in custody, and the fourth was already a fugitive, which makes things quite a bit more simple for the lawmen.

The FBI claims the indictments are the result of an investigation which its agents have been conducting since the shootings. Agents have been the principal witnesses before the grand jury. However, the timing of the indictments coincided with the appearance of Lakota witnesses, giving the impression that Indians had testified against other Indians. But NBC TV News was reporting the indictments while the Lakota witnesses were still being forced to testify.

Eagle's attorney, Robert R. Bryan of Birmingham, Alabama, has filed a motion asking that Eagle's trial be moved to another district. He cites as one reason the prejudice already exhibited in Eagle's legal proceedings. During a preliminary bail hearing on August 4, U.S. Magistrate James H. Wilson refused to reduce bail, saying that Eagle had a "callous disregard for the rules of civilized society" and that his grandmother, Gladys Bissonette possessed "an attitude of hostility toward federal law enforcement officials." All these statements were made without even an indictment, let alone a jury determination of the issues.

Bryan also noted the vast amount of prejudicial publicity in the case which makes a fair trial by an impartial jury almost an impossibility. Eagle's name has appeared in the *Rapid City Journal* over 90 times since his arrest.

The situation is the same, actually, for almost any native person. In the last three years in South Dakota there has been the disturbance in Custer, the occupation of Wounded Knee, the Pork Plant Takeover in Wagner, the Columbus Day bombings at Pine Ridge, the reign of terror, the raid on Crow Dog's Paradise, and all the trials associated with these events in a state known even before all this as the "Mississippi of the Indians".

The intensity of the FBI's reaction to the June 26 shooting of two of its agents made it appear that the incident– not the deaths – was welcomed, even prepared for. That tragedy provided a long-desired excuse to invade the reservation in large numbers, and get back at the occupiers of Wounded Knee for their stand-off of federal power.

While the press was busy detailing the latest revelations of FBI break-ins and other illegal acts during the 1950s and '60s, an estimated 200 agents, accompanied by armored personnel carriers and helicopters, "broke in" at Pine Ridge with immunity.

As Susan Abrams, a commentator at radio station WCAS-AM in Cambridge reported in WIN magazine, "With about as much subtlety as Ford showed in the Mayaguez incident, these modern-day John Waynes seem to be using the reservation as an object lesson to uppity Indians everywhere."

On the Rosebud Reservation, FBI agents, BIA police, and U.S. Marshalls carried off a dawn raid on Crow Dog's Paradise and Leonard Crow Dog's brother-in-law's home adjoining his land. They arrested seven persons at that time, and later another in Los Angeles as she stepped off a plane.

In Manderson, South Dakota, one person was arrested and charged with the murder of his best friend, while another was arrested for assault in the process of trying to escape from persons who were assaulting him.

In Rapid City, South Dakota, three persons were jailed for contempt when they refused to answer questions by a grand jury looking into the "Oglala Incident" where two FBI men and one native man were killed.

In Oklahoma, the FBI, Secret Service, U.S. Marshals, and Alcohol, Firearms & Tobacco agents raided the home of Gerry Thomas and arrested her son for possession of marijuana after they conducted an illegal paramilitary-type search.

In Kansas, seven persons, including two juveniles and a one-year-old child were arrested. The car they were said to have been riding in exploded and burned.

At Oglala, former tribal councilman Jim Little was beaten to death by four men close to the present tribal administration. During his wake, three persons were arrested for allegedly having firearms.

Dale Shepherd was charged with receiving stolen property after he hocked a gun at a store in Sharps Corner and the FBI says it came from the car of one of the dead agents. Shepherd was indicted February 25, even after the FBI said two lie-detector tests cleared him of any knowledge of where the gun came from.

A series of demonstrations around the U.S. have protested the continuing assaults against native peoples. In San Francisco, 200 persons gathered in front of the Federal Building on October 14, and other groups organized by the Survival of American Indians Association in Seattle demonstrated on Columbus Day.

All-White Jury Finds Jim Robideau Guilty

The trial of Jim Robideau ended in conviction on one charge of riot while armed with a dangerous weapon in Custer, South Dakota. The jury returned November 16, and on November 19, he was sentenced to two to five years in the state penitentiary at Sioux Falls.

Roubideau is the sixth person brought to trial stemming from his participation in a delegation to Custer to discuss with state's attorneys a mild charge which they had laid against a white man who had fatally stabbed Wesley Bad Heart Bull. Of the six persons who have had trials, five have been convicted by all-white juries, and others still await trial.

The trial began November 3 before state judge Merton Tice. In a week of jury selection, 39 out of 70 prospective jurors were excused because of anti-Indian bias. During an earlier trial of Dennis Banks, 230 jurors were rejected as biased. The town where the trials are taking place is named after famed Indian-slayer General George Armstrong Custer.

Prosecutor Mark Meirhenry used as his principle evidence two film clips taken by a Sioux Falls newsman and a Chicago telecaster. A portion of the film showed national AIM leader Russell Means on the floor being beaten and kicked by policemen.

Judge Tice did not allow one expert witness to testify – a man who had worked with the original inventor of the riot baton. His testimony would have been that the riot baton was not designed as a dangerous weapon, but was designed to push or poke back crowds. He was prepared to testify that Robideau had used the riot baton exactly as it was intended for – self-defense. Other charges against Robideau had been dismissed, and categorizing the riot baton as a "dangerous weapon" directly led to his conviction.

The defense was also hampered by failure of the prosecution to turn over documents and evidence. Although Tice had ordered the state to produce the materials, he proceeded with the trial over defense objections that the prosecution had not complied with the court's orders. At a pre-trial hearing, an expert witness on community bias and prejudice, Bob Buckout, was threatened with arrest by the prosecutor, state attorney general William Janklow, when Janklow didn't like Buckout's testimony.

Robideau was indicted in August, 1973, but he was not served with the indictment until April, 1975. According to South Dakota law, all defendants must be brought to trial within a year after they are indicted. Robideau had been working setting up an ex-offenders program in Rapid City, and helping the Rapid City Indian Service Council locate jobs, counsel clients, and set up community activities.

On September 27 in Lake Andes, South Dakota, the seven Yankton Sioux defendants were convicted on state charges of grand larceny and third degree burglary for the May 2, 1975, occupation of the Yankton Sioux Pork Plant on their reservation near Wagner, South Dakota. The all-white jury deliberated nine hours.

Mike and Godwin Weston are still in jail on $10,000 bond – $5,000 federal and $5,000 state. Don Conouyer and Mark Winkler are free on the same bond conditions. Jesse Costello and Mike Homomichl are out on personal recognizance. Jim Wedell was being held on $12,000 bond and escaped the afternoon of September 27 from a Wagner hospital where he was being treated for an eye infection.

Wedell and four others – the Westons, Winkler, and Conouyer – had escaped before from the Charles Mix County Law Enforcement Center on July 26. All but Wedell were either captured or turned themselves in. Wedell remained free until the day the trial began, when he voluntarily appeared in court, ready for trial.

The state of South Dakota assumed jurisdiction in the case, contrary to U.S. law which specifies that the federal government has jurisdiction on reservations. However, the U.S. failed to intervene. The state Attorney-General, AIMphobe William Janklow, and state law enforcement officials spearheaded the attack on the Yankton Sioux Pork Plant which ended the May 2 occupation.

The occupation had highlighted a dispute the Yankton people had with Melvin Rosenthal, manipulated his part-ownership in the pork plant to controlling 85% of the stocks, and over his management and personnel policies.

The defendants were represented by court-appointed attorneys, and were tried by an all-white jury chosen from the Lake Andes area, a white community in the middle of the Indian reservation. Jury selection for the trial lasted only 2½ days, and the trial lasted only one day. All seven defendants also face federal charges of breaking and entering and two counts of assault.

At a rally of support for the Yankton Seven on October 4, several hundred people gathered. The local AIM chapter had requested police protection for the peaceful rally against armed white vigilantes, who are a constant threat in the area. However, the law enforcement force that responded seemed to be more than the situation demanded: over 15 state patrol cars, at least ten FBI agents outside and an undetermined number inside the courthouse, 25 unmarked cars, a SWAT squad, and aircraft maintaining aerial surveillance.

Russell Means spoke of the thousand AIM members arrested since Wounded Knee '73. He himself has been arrested 14 times, and shot at twice by BIA police. He commented on the bad press created around the arrests by reporters who accompany the FBI. This is intended to build up resentment and fright among non-Indians, Means told the rally. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the Government relied on the label of "savage" to excuse massacres and rip-offs. In the 20th Century, he said, the label is "militant" to excuse mass arrests, illegal invasions, murders, and tribal government corruption condoned and encouraged by the U.S.

Many members of the Lakota Treaty Council have themselves been victimized by the violence. Within a week of Frank Starr's being appointed to the White Clay Law and Order Committee in June to deal with the increassed harassment by the FBI after June 26, his brother was beaten almost to death.

Respected chief Frank Fools Crow's home was firebombed in March, and in July the FBI refused to allow a truck to deliver cinderblocks for reconstruction, saying he might build bunkers with them.

Fools Crow's interpreter, Matthew King, had his home shot up.

Marvin Ghost Bear, an elected tribal council member from Batesland, was held hostage in the Pine Ridge jail by goons when he came to Pine Ridge tribal court on February 26. His life has been threatened many times, and at one time, his home was shot at so often he was forced to move off the reservation for awhile.

Last March, Eugene White Hawk's niece and her two children died when goons ran their car off the road.

Kenny Loud Hawk was threatened with an indictment if he didn't answer FBI questions, and his father, also a delegate, was fired from the job he had held for ten years, and for which he was under contract for a full year more.

It is impossible to get an accurate count of Pine Ridge Reservation residents out on bond awaiting trial in Federal Court. Certainly it is close to a dozen or more, most of them traditionals or AIM members. However, two cases which relate indirectly to the June 26 FBI deaths are indicative of the U.S. assault on native people, reprisals on uncooperative Indians.

Donny Hudson, age 13, is charged with stealing an automatic weapon from a white rancher, Orville Schwarting. No one else is charged, and Hudson was in Deadwood riding in a rodeo when the robbery was alleged to take place. Hudson was charged after he refused to testify at a July 14 grand jury investigating the FBI agents' deaths, and he family was warned by the FBI that they "would get it" if they didn't answer questions.

Jerry Bear Shield is accused of murder of his close friend, Stacy Cottier. On March 20, snipers shot at Bear Shield, Cottier, and Norman Bear Shirt as they walked along the road. Bear Shield was shot in the throat, and Cottier was killed. Tribal police tried to charge Bear Shield with murder, and then let him go, but in early September, a federal grand jury indicted him after he refused an FBI offer of $800 to testify before the grand jury about the murder on March 9 of Josh Steele, alleged to have been a member of the goon squad.

Bear Shield was indicted for murder March 21 for Steele's death, the same day goons killed an eyewitness to Steele's murder who could have cleared Bear Shield. The youth is an AIM member, a Wounded Knee defendant for whom charges were dropped, and a traditional Oglala who speaks little English. He has been a constant victim of FBI harassment, especially since June 26.

BANKS REMAINS FREE IN POLITICAL EXILE

Dennis Banks, field director of the American Indian Movement, remains free in political exile, although a series of nationwide searches have been conducted by local, state, and federal officers. Police insist that they have twice narrowly missed capturing him — once in Kansas, and once in Oregon near the Idaho border. Both times, his wife and native people travelling with her were arrested.

Seemingly Banks had been seen all over the country. Any middle-aged Indian male with long hair was in danger of being stopped by police for questioning.

In St. Paul, State Patrol officers, helicopters, St. Paul Police and FBI agents cornered a car at Aurora Avenue and St. Alban Street on October 6 — but Banks was not in the vehicle. Earlier in the day, the car had been chased by trooper Eugene Pollard, but Pollard's car rammed another vehicle driven by Mrs. Helen Wolfe, 59, sending her to the hospital. When the car was spotted later in the day near national AIM headquarters, authorities converged on the site, but kept their distance. However, after the car was cornered, the army of officers found only Vernon Bellecourt, Margaret Sprague, 25, and Paula Horne, 18.

The car was seized, nonetheless, and hauled to the city garage for a possible FBI check.

Bellecourt challenged police accounts, however. He said that while a State Patrol car had followed them when they headed for AIM headquarters that morning, there had been no chase. He said he had no idea how Pollard happened to be involved in the collision with Mrs. Wolfe, "but it certainly was not while he was pursuing us."

He also described the impoundment of the car as a Keystone Kop comedy. He said all day, reporters had been coming in to ask what was going on and where was Dennis Banks. A police helicopter flew back and forth observing the scene all day, Bellecourt said. "About 4:30, the three of us closed the office and headed for the car. As we did, police and FBI agents all began jumping into their cars and the helicopter zoomed in. We drove about a block when they curbed us, questioned us, and impounded the car."

"An innocent woman was injured. We were harassed. And Pollard filed a false report," Bellecourt charged. "After all that, I think the authorities at least owe us an apology."

Searches were also conducted of a Sioux Falls, South Dakota, residence October 7, FBI agent William Miencke reported. He wasn't there.

The FBI also searched the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee house in Rapid City. Banks wasn't there, either.

Banks had been convicted by an all-white jury which found him guilty of riot and assault during the February 6, 1973, demonstration in Custer that resulted in destroyed police cars and the burning of Custer County Courthouse. During the trial, Banks had showed the incident was a "police riot". He indicated that police provocateurs had escalated an incident into a violent confrontation.

Banks was convicted of a felony decades ago, which would make a prison sentence mandatory. His attorney, John Flynn, a Northeastern University law professor, said there was every possibility Banks would be killed in prison. "The prisons tend to be a reflection of the society, and this society is very, very white," Flynn said.

A news release from the AIM headquarters described Banks' move as "political exile."

South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow, who had personally prosecuted the case, said, "We'll get him — it'll just take time."

If apprehended outside the state, Banks would be brought before a federal magistrate. There would be extradition hearings, which, if the state won, would result in his return to South Dakota for sentencing — he faces a maximum of 15 years in the state penitentiary.

Janklow claimed Banks' disappearance had damaged him in the eyes of the Indian community and AIM supporters because "nobody can respect a 'martyr' who sneaks off into the night." However, "Dennis Banks Welcome Here" signs can be seen on many homes throughout the land in apparent contradiction to Janklow's assertion.

Banks was believed to have been in a car which blew up on the Kansas Turnpike in September. Eight persons, including two teenagers and a baby, were charged by federal police. The FBI claimed the car carried hand grenades, fire-arms, and ammunition. Kamook Banks, 20, was released on $7500 bond. She was indicted September 30 by a Kansas grand jury. She is the wife of Dennis Banks, and a Custer defendant awaiting trial. Her Kansas trial has been delayed since she was expected to give birth in December.

Charges against her sister, Bernie Nichols, 21, also a Custer defendant, were dropped for lack of evidence. Norman Charles, 19, and Keith Demarrias , 22, were convicted and are free on bail while the case is under appeal.

Robert Robideaux, 29, was held under $125,000 bond. He was also convicted, and he has since been charges with the murde of the two FBI agents.

One of the witnesses before the grand jury which issued the indictments was a 15-year-old girl. She was jailed on contempt-of-court charges when she refused to give evidence that "might incriminate my people". Her attorney, Frank Robbins, asked U.S. Distrrict Court Judge Frank Theis to consider that she "has lived all of her life as an Indian, raised in a new wave, aware of Indian culture and status." Robbins said that to ask her to distinguish between her duty to obey the court order and her moral obligations to her relatives and people is unrealistic. Two of those arrested are related to her.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Burgess countered that "every citizen has a duty to testify" and pressed to have her jailed. On September 30, after a week in custody, the young woman was released. Judge Theis said further confinement appeared pointless, and anyway, her testimony was not essential. Theis warned the 15-year-old, "If you were a little older, or if circumstances were a little different, I would have no hesitation at putting you in the slammer."

The arrests came during a 14-day period in which 34 American Indian Movement members and sympathizers were arrested and jailed.

In Minneapolis, government agents broke into a home without a search warrant, found "a weapon", and arrested six persons.

Police in Rapid City swept the streets during the same period, arresting 364 persons, almost all Indians. Currently, of the 56 persons in the Rapid City jail, 53 are Indian and three are black.

The Oregon Motor Home Siege

Banks was also not found in a motor home riddled with police bullets after it was stopped in northeastern Oregon.

An Oregon State Trooper said he had stopped the motor home and another vehicle for questioning, when one man ran into a nearby field. A shot was fired by the trooper, and the motor home was driven off. It hit a highway median, and a second man fled. An FBI agent insisted the two men must be Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier.

The motor home belonged to actor Marlon Brando.

Peltier is wanted for attempted murder in connection with an incident in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, last summer. The FBI says he put a gun to the head of an officer and pulled the trigger, but the gun didn't fire. A warrant for his arrest was issued August 9, 1974.

Four adults and a child were taken into custody after the incident. They were Kamook (Darlene Nichols), Annie Mae Aquash, 30, of Nova Scotia; Russ James Redner, 28, of Eureka, California, and Kenneth Loud hawk, 21, of Pine Ridge.

— Minneapolis Tribune

"Sorry pal, — you guys looked like Dennis Banks"

Russell Means has spent 12 of the last 24 months in court, and still has 8 or so trials to go through. One trial on charges of assault in the Mission country club resulted in him receiving a 30 day sentence, and he is currently on trial for charges arising from the Minnehaha County Courthouse eruption in April, 1974.

Means' sentencing came November 28. Another defendant, Kenneth Kane, was sentenced to two years and 30 days, but all but five months of that was suspended and Kane was placed on probation for three years. Means, of Porcupine, and Kane, of Cherry Creek, were charged with attacking former Mission policeman Thomas Rhoades and Ronald Haukaas in a brawl at the country club in June, 1974. They were part of a party which sought to be served in the predominately-white establishment. Police were called, and a fight erupted.

Means had explained to the court that he has had a number of attempts on his life in police-related incidents, and when he was simply sitting at a table to be served and police came at him with drawn guns — "I didn't wait for them to kill me. I socked him."

"My function is not to make a moral judgment," U.S. District Judge Robert Merhige Jr. said. "Your involvement in this incident is to somyextent understandable. Nevertheless, somebody was assaulted. No one is above the law, and no one below it." One person was shot by police in the brawl.

In the Sioux Falls trial, which has run from August through December, attorneys fought unsuccessfully to have the case placed under jurisdiction of the federal court system. This trial involves "riot and injury to a public building" in connection with a clash between courtroom spectators and riot-equipped police at the Minnehaha County Courthouse.

Motions were also denied to have the case dismissed by Circuit Court Judge Richard Braithwaite because the case had been "fatally infected with massive pre-trial publicity." After going through almost 150 prospective jurors, Means moved to be tried by judge alone, saying he didn't think he could ever get an impartial jury.

Evidence in his trial was given by Jack Pratt, a California attorney who says he knew of no planned confrontation the day of the violent clash which broke out when the city's SWAT squad was called to clear spectators from the courtroom who would not rise when Judge Joseph Bottum entered. Pratt was a defense attorney for persons charged in the 1973 Custer demonstration whose trial had been moved to Sioux Falls. Pratt said he saw the police pin Custer defendant David Hill to a table and strike him. Hill had one eye severely injured and he was hospitalized.

Ramon Roubideaux, another Custer defense attorney, testified that several police beat Hill and others went to a crowd of spectators and began beating them. Roubideaux said he saw other police enter the courtroom in riot gear, swinging their clubs.

Vernon Bellecourt testified that he had asked Lutheran clergymen to monitor "racist" court proceedings which erupted in violence. Bellecourt denied state contentions that the fight had been planned the night before by a meeting of 100 to 150 persons. He said that while it had been decided that the spectators would not rise for the judge, they would be carried out if the courtroom was ordered cleared. No women would be among the 20 spectators allowed inside, Bellecourt said, because in a previous clearing of the courtroom, they had been "unduly fondled" by police.

Carter Camp, 34, was arrested November 30 in a Chicago apartment after he had failed to appear for sentencing August 5 on charges of assaulting a federal officer during the occupation of Wounded Knee. Camp was one of seven persons singled out as "leaders" for special prosecution. He was taken to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where he was sentenced to three years in prison. He is in custody pending appeal.

The Rosebud Election Conspiracy

Rosebud Reservation had maintained its cool for months while its next-door neighbor, Pine Ridge, was erupting. The paramilitary raid on Crow Dog's Paradise was a sign of things to come, and now there is the probability that a fraudulent election parallel to the 1974 Pine Ridge election has happened.

Rosebud politics have always been vigorous and mean. This summer, incumbent Robert Burnette announced he would run again.

One of Burnett's most formidable opponents, former tribal president Webster Two Hawk, was eliminated from the balloting by federal court order. The tribal election board had refused to certify him on the grounds he did not meet residency requirements — Two Hawk had left the reservation to direct the Indian Studies Program at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion, and although he returned in June, that was not enough time to meet standards of tribal by-laws.

Two Hawk appealed that decision to U.S. District Court, where he lost. That left Burnette with virtually no opposition. When the primaries were held, the two top candidates were Burnette and Eddie Driving Hawk, a 20-year-veteran of the U.S. Military, recently retired and just back to the reservation for a year, and an amateur and virtual unknown in tribal politics.

When the balloting was held in late October, Burnette was startled to hear the returns coming in from the districts — Driving Hawk had managed to win by a scant 48 votes. Ballot boxes were brought into Rosebud and the tribal election board started to process them so it could certify the election, but before it could get into it, the building where the counting was taking place was seized by BIA police.

In the meantime, Driving Hawk went to the tribal court and obtained an injunction forbidding Burnette from entering his tribal offices, or conducting further business. Then Driving Hawk had himself sworn in as new tribal president.

One of this first acts was to fire the old election board, and to appoint a new group of his choosing. They proceeded to certify a slate of fourteen councilmen favorable to Driving Hawk, and they were immediately sworn into office.

Burnette took the matter to federal court, and he was able to get an injunction against Driving Hawk and the BIA police, returning the situation to the status quo. However, that injunction was ignored by both Driving Hawk and the BIA superintendent for a number of hours, during which time there was much activity around the ballot boxes.

Under the injunction, the old tribal election board came in and started checking. They found numerous discrepencies — some ballot boxes had dozens more ballots in them than had been sent out to that district. New ballots which had not been certified by the election board had been added. More ballots were in some boxes than there were registered voters in the district.

Burnette believes that Driving Hawk, his second cousin, was a front man for white ranchers and racist vigilante groups in South Dakota, and that the whole election scenario had been developed by them with the complicity of the BIA at a local level.

The issue at stake is land. 89% of the dry farming land and 57% of the grazing land on the reservation is used by 2,356 non-Indian leasees. In contrast, there are only about 230 Indian farmers and ranchers, and only about 60 of them have viable operations. Unable to get credit and squeezed out by shady practices and heavily-financed competition, many of the small Indian ranchers have had to sell out.

To prevent Indian land from leaving Indian control, under Burnette the Rosebud tribe has recently obtained a 40-year FHA loan of $1,500,000 for the purchase of individually-allotted Indian land which owners desire to sell. But even then there are problems, for few Rosebud people have the resources to use the land profitably, and it might have to be leased out again to non-Indians who have the dollars behind them.

Under Burnette's administration, a program to return more Rosebud lands to the use of the Rosebud people was initiated. His tribal council had in May moved to recall 25,000 acres for use by Rosebud cattle associations and grazing cooperatives, which had the effect of cancelling a number of leases held by white ranchers.

"We are not cancelling all leases, however, and this is not — as some people or groups seek to interpret — an anti-white movement," Burnette explained. "It is simply Indian people starting to exercise the right of using their own land."

"We are initiating this program in an attempt to get our people off welfare and into productive lives," he added. Burnette had been successful in getting a $1.5-million loan under the Indian Finance Act of 1974, which permitted an acceleration of the land program through re-loaning the money out to cooperatives and individuals.

In the hearing, Driving Hawk told the court he had been advised what to do by Webster Two Hawk and George Keller, acting BIA superintendent, and others.

Keller, who appeared as a hostile witness, denied any knowledge of anyone breaking into the tribal offices, saying that no one had reported such a thing to him. Later, however, three policemen testified that they had reported the break-in to Keller. Other persons testified that they had entered tribal offices legally, with keys, but Burnette testified that all keys had been taken and locked in his home as a precaution. Other persons testifying for the Driving Hawk interests gave contradictory evidence, causing mention of perjury actions.

Alfred Left Hand Bull and Justin White Hat testified as members of the original election board. Their hours of testimony detailed the fantastic discrepencies, missing ballots, and infractions of election procedures.

In past elections, William Janklow has been an avid Two Hawk supporter and a fierce Burnette opponent. He has aided the anti-Burnette candidates with money, use of automobiles, and other active support.

One problem Burnette faces in his court action is that Ben Reifel, former congressman and an active South Dakota Republican partyman, has been appointed special master by the court to examine the ballots and to make inquiries into complaints about the election. Janklow was the Republican candidate for attorney general.

— Wilfred Bailey/IFCO News photo

Robert Burnette, Rosebud Tribal President

Another key issue is state jurisdiction. White interests will have a free hand if they can use state law, state courts, and state police powers on the reservations, and a long and bitter campaign has been waged by such groups as Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens, Inc., a right-wing group openly advocating white supremacy.

When Webster Two Hawk was in office, he filed a suit against the State of South Dakota, asking for a declaratory judgment giving the Rosebud Tribe jurisdiction over all lands within the reservation boundaries. If the case were lost, it would be a major setback, not only for Rosebud, but it could set a precedent that would be applied to every reservation in the U.S.

The attorney for Webster Two Hawk acting for the Rosebud Tribe was William Janklow, then heading an OEO legal aid program on the reservation.

And Rosebud did lose, leaving the door open for a state takeover of the reservation.

About that time, Robert Burnette came back into office as tribal president, beating Two Hawk. One of his first acts was to appeal the loss to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Hearings on that case were held recently, and this time, the lawyer for the state of South Dakota was attorney general William Janklow. Some observers believe from the way in which Janklow conducted the appeal that he was well aware of the weakppoints in the original case, which seemed framed to lose. Now that Webster Two Hawk is working closely with interests favoring state jurisdiction, his own involvement in the original case also calls for re-examination.

Burnette has taken the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, and he has asked tribes all across the U.S. to join his case by filing *amicus curae* so that they will not become victimized by state jurisdiction. Already, the Comptroller-General has filed a friend of the court brief saying that the economic impact on the United States would be so great if the state of South Dakota is successful in its action.

Leonard Crow Dog In S.D. State Penitentiary

Leonard Crow Dog, a spiritual leader and medicine man, is in federal prison.

He was sentenced on November 28 to a five year prison term on a charge of "aiding and abetting an assault". A $25,000 appeal bond was set, and Crow Dog's attorneys estimate the expenses of the appeal might go as high as $75,000.

Crow Dog's conviction came during a U.S. move to railroad all Indian cases through before Thanksgiving Day to try for a quiet Bicentennial. One hearing was held from 9:30 p.m. until after midnight, and Crow Dog had to be in court at 7:45 a.m. for sentencing. Some other Indian cases only took 3½ hours from the beginning of jury selection to the return of the verdict.

Judge Robert Merhige had been sent in from another district with orders to have the Indian cases cleared up immediately. Although David Taylor, Crow Dog's attorney from Louisville, Kentucky, had obtained a continuance to allow him to prepare for the case, his plane had not yet landed him back in Louisville when the court announced it had changed its mind and would proceed immediately. On another charge Crow Dog faced, December 8 had been set for the hearing, but in an abrupt announcement, the court said it would begin 2½ weeks earlier.

Bogue had appointed William Srstka as counsel for Crow Dog. Srstka is the son of Bogue's own clerk of courts, as well as being treasurer of the state Republican Party and personal friend and campaign manager for William Janklow. Janklow had won the office of attorney general of the state on the campaign promise of "I'll put AIM members in jail, if not under it."

Srstka entered a guilty plea for Crow Dog without Crow Dog's consent, and Taylor had to argue to get that plea withdrawn.

The charge on which Crow Dog was sentenced involved two men, William McCloskey and Robert Beck. Rosebud Tribal Chairman Robert Burnette describes them as "troublemakers" and they each have a long record of assaultive behavior. Beck, a white man, had been present when Andrew Paul Stewart, a nephew of Crow Dog's was killed recently, but he was never even questioned by authorities.

On September 2, McCloskey and Beck came to Crow Dog's land and assaulted another of Crow Dog's nephews, Frank Running. On September 3, the pair again came to Crow Dog's gate and tried to start a second fight which several people helped break up. Crow Dog watched as the pair was prevented from entering his land. Between the two fights, Beck and McCloskey were seen riding around with FBI agents.

The next thing Crow Dog knew about the matter was on September 5 at 6 a.m., when 100 FBI agents, four helicopters, and the full assault squad arrived by road and air, with the stated intention to serve five assault warrants on those allegedly involved in the fight with McCloskey and Beck. That invasion violated an agreement drawn up on the Rosebud Reservation after the June 26 FBI deaths, in which tribal officials, spiritual leaders, and the BIA superintendent agreed that the FBI would not be used on the reservation unless notice was given to the tribal chairman and the BIA.

Judge Merhige told Crow Dog that since he was a spiritual leader, he was going to be severe with him since he should have prevented the fight. Another defendant, Gerald Millard, was sentenced to three years. Crow Dog was taken to the penitentiary at Sioux Falls, then to Wichita, and is now incommunicado somewhere in the federal prison system, supposedly headed for the prison at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, far from Sioux Country.

Crow Dog was sentenced to three years probation for "robbery of postal inspectors" at Wounded Knee — again since he was present", even though the inspectors themselves testified that all Crow Dog did was give them a lecture on American history. Officials are now trying to have that probation revoked. The other assault charge for which he still faces trial involves an earlier incident in which a man with drugs was asked to leave Crow Dog's home. That man is Royer Pfersick, 25, of West Carmel, New York, who said he had been sent to Crow Dog "by the Great Spirit".

Crow Dog is a great-grandson of the man who the United States prosecuted for the killing of Spotted Tail at Rosebud. In that case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. had no jurisdiction to try Crow Dog because the crime had been committed in Indian Country. As a result, the U.S. Congress passed the Major Crimes Act, unilaterally attempting to give the courts of the U.S. jurisdiction for certain "major crimes". However, the law itself provides it is applicable unless otherwise provided by Treaty. The jurisdiction question is bound to be raised another time a hundred years later — again by a Crow Dog.

Pine Ridge Elections Scheduled For January 20

At the center of much of the turmoil at Pine Ridge is Dick Wilson, who leads a private army, on the federal payroll, commonly known even by themselves as "the goon squad." Despite all of reports detailing the corruption of the Wilson government, he is still very much in evidence, obviously because it is somehow to the advantage of the U.S. Government.

For quite a time, Wilson simply ran Pine Ridge like a dictator, and did not bother to call the tribal council together to conduct business under the tribal constitution. From April, 1974 to April, 1975, the council met only eight times. Wilson relied on a resolution he had passed in November, 1972, after the BIA headquarters occupation in Washington, allowing him to function without tribal council or executive committee.

The current council has enough Wilson supporters to pass his legislation through, but not enough to establish a quorum. So simply by refusing to attend council meetings, opponents of Wilson have prevented him from using the council to rubber-stamp his actions.

One action needing council approval is a loan request for $4,000,000 from the FHA. A prior loan of $6-million has never been fully accounted for, however, and federal auditors say the tribal books are in such disorder they could not determine whether or not the money had been spent properly.

Two members of the council, Severt Young Bear and Marvin Ghost Bear, have refused to attend council since a February 26 incident. They came to Pine Ridge that day to deal with a disturbance created when goon-squad members attacked AIM members appearing in tribal court. Ghost Bear and Young Bear, members of the tribal Law and Order committee, were seized by the goons and held in the Pine Ridge jail without charges.

Wilson has called three meetings this autumn, and each time failed to produce a quorum. Finally, Wilson got an order from the tribal court compelling councillors to attend a hearing as to whether the court should order them to attend council meetings.

At the hearing, councilman Frank Starr told the court that in his tenure on the council, the problems of his people in the outlying district of Oglala had never been taken seriously.

"Go to the Oglala District. It's chock full of problems – problems that would hurt you on all sides of your heart if you had one, problems from newborns all the way to aged."

Jack Steele complained that he had never received a copy of council meeting meetings, as provided for under tribal by-laws. He also noted that tribal council members were not supposed to hold jobs which would affect their decisions, but that all members of council from the Pine Ridge district, the BIA's stronghold on the reservation, hold such jobs. Pine Ridge also has more than its share of council members – seven. Oglala, the next largest district, has only two. The council should consist of twenty members, representing eight districts.

After hearing the statements, tribal Judge Theodore Tibbetts noted that the "governing body has broken down. Business has ceased." After ordering the council to set the new elections, Tibbetts resigned as tribal judge. January 20 was set for tribal elections.

However, Wilson's hand-picked election board will have the final say. One member is Dave Brewer, who was a member of the 1974 election board which could find no wrong in that balloting. When traditional Oglalas were finally able to get the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to investigate the election, however, it revealed that one-third of the 3200 ballots cast in the voting were irregular, and that threats, beatings, shootings, and bombings had kept anti-Wilson voters from the polls. Wilson won by a narrow margin over AIM leader Russell Means, who had won hands down in the primaries.

Among the abuses allowed by Brewer and other members of the election board, as cited by Civil Rights Commission investigators, were allowing 380 individuals not eligible to vote to cast ballots, failure to compile an up-to-date voters list, failure to rule on election protests, and no poll watchers or observers were present at any time during the official count of the votes in the basement of the tribal offices – no observers, that is, except Dick Wilson.

The Civil Rights investigators recommended that new elections be held, but the BIA and Justice Department ignored the new recommendations, and Wilson remained in office. The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee brought suit on behalf of a number of reservation residents seeking a federal court order for a new election, but U.S. District Court Judge Andrew Bogue ruled that he did not have jurisdiction. By the time an Appeals Court overruled him, the next election was so close the suit was useless.

Tensions are running even higher than usual as election politicking gets underway. On November 17, members of the BIA's SWAT team fired on several cars as they drove through Wounded Knee. Although the occupants of the cars did not fire back, the SWAT team called for reinforcements, and a high-speed chase from Wounded Knee to thevillage of Allen ensued.

On November 20, Edgar Bear Runner, Jr., was jumped by several goons, including Manny Wilson, Dick Wilson's son. The assault took place inthe supermarket in Pine Ridge. Bear Runner is an outspoken young traditionalist and district leader at Porcupine District. He was part of the Lakota Treaty Council which went to Washington to meet with U.S. President Gerald Ford. On November 21, Bear Runner's brother's vehicle was run off the highway near Porcupine by goons.

Recalling the violence and bloodshed which accompanied the 1974 election, reservation residents of all factions are concerned about the upcoming campaign which is taking place in the midst of an armed FBI encampment in which harassment and intimidation of traditionalists, old people, and AIM members – or any opponents of Wilson's – are daily facts of life.

Vine Deloria, Jr., noted Lakota author and attorney, doubts that honest elections can be held under present circumstances. He says the reservation should be put in receivership by the U.S. Government in order to establish order. He suggested that a five-person committee take charge of the reservation and establish order, then schedule elections.

"There are a number of honorable people who could do this and look at the situation impartially," he told an audience at South Dakota State University in Brookings.

"No one in the House or Senate would go against this if South Dakota's congressmen and senators said it was the best thing to do." However, he said, Senator James Abourezk has stayed away from the situation in Washington, and George McGovern "was against killing Vietnamese for ten years, but he has never said there was anything wrong with killing Indians on South Dakota reservations."

Deloria warned South Dakota's white residents that the violation of Indian rights would soon mean violation of their own rights. When the FBI got done harassing Indians, he predicted, they would "soon have dossiers on South Dakota farmers who sold wheat to the Russians and label them Communists." Many South Dakota farmers now believe that the current unrest and violence on the reservations is the work of Communist agitators.

A variety of candidates announced for the tribal council presidency. There was Wilson, running for an unprecedented third term, who had been strongly backed by U.S. officials in previous elections. There was some concern among his Oglala supporters whether he could count on similar backing, since his flair for public statements and the blatant violence surrounding his administration was proving embarrassing.

John Hussman, who was active in third-force and goon squad activities during and after the Wounded Knee occupation, also announced his candidacy. He resigned his position as "small business development specialist" with the Tribal Council to campaign. Hussman is a graduate of the Los Angeles Police Academy, and knows all the ins and outs of sophisticated police work. Part of his platform said he would take over the present BIA police to re-establish a tribal police force, which would give the tribal council total control over policing activities.

Wilson has charged that all other candidates are ineligible to run for office because they are non-residents. That would leave him and Hussman as candidates, something like Diem running against Thieu in Vietnam. "They'll still have a puppet, but they can pretend there were free elections and people threw the bad guy out," a legal worker asserts.

Hussman said he wanted "tribal unity" and "improved communications so that all people will know what their tribal government is doing." He also promised "to utilize our Indian resources in as many areas as expediently as possible."

Russell Means was also running again. In the last election, he won by a good margin in the primaries, but in the final balloting, he lost by a narrow margin to Wilson. The election was investigated carefully by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which branded it as fraudulent and called for new supervised balloting. However, the Interior Department ignored both the fraud and the recommendation.

Means is having difficulty in campaigning because most of his time is tied up in trials. He said he had not intended to run, but after the recent wave of arrests and the stomping death of his cousin, Jim Little, in September, he felt compelled to seek office.

Means said if he were elected he would move tribal offices from Pine Ridge, in the extreme southwestern corner of the large reservation, to a central location and work for "a just way of living." "There would be no more lawlessness by Dicky Wilson's goon squad," he said.

Means had good words for another opponent, Al Trimble, former Bureau of Indian Affairs Superintendent at Pine Ridge. He was brought in with Wilson's approval after Wounded Knee, but when he started being more fair and impartial than Wilson could stand, he was removed on orders from Washington.

"Trimble is the only man besides myself who has got the guts to stand up against Dicky Wilson," Means said. "That's why he was transferred out of Pine Ridge." After his transfer, he was posted in a meaningless job in the BIA office in Albuquerque, carrying the title of "public school coordinator 'lof the Indian Education Reservation Center.

Trimble said that he has filed a grievance with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protesting his re-assignment to Albuquerque. He said he had not lost his residency from Pine Ridge, and that he has spent two-thirds of his time there since his removal last May.

Trimble said that only "Dick Wilson, his family, close relatives, and associates have benefitted from his tenure in office." He said it was urgent that a new administration take over to "still the deterioration that has taken place these past three years."

Wilson's administration could be defined as "mismanagement" and "rip-off", Trimble charged. "The neediest members of the tribe have remained so for the past three or four years," he said. "They are the most deprived, many more pitiful than before, if you can imagine that possible."

Trimble said, has remained an island of privilege – "privilege to the almost exclusive utilization of the tribe's programs and resources and privilege to interpret the tribe's laws and codes for their own purposes."

Trimble's position with the BIA gave him an unusual opportunity to see the inside operation of the Wilson-U.S. alliance, and he knows what he is facing in trying to get an honest election. He said it was up to the Oglala people to make sure the election was fair, and he called on the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to use his authority to insure a democratic vote.

Prior to the last election, American Indian Movement members suggested that the election be monitored, but Trimble had them rejected the idea. Now he has a different mind because, he says, "the people weren't able to act to protect themselves." Now, with the presence of even more federal agents on the reservation, he is concerned about his chances.

A DELEGATION OF CHIEFS

A delegation of Lakota chiefs, headmen, and aides were in Washington, D.C., most of the autumn, waiting for the President of the United States to recognize their existence. Finally, in November, President Gerald Ford saw a tiny group of them for four minutes – but nothing seems to be changing as a result.

Perhaps it was too much to ask even of the President. The Lakota Treaty Council had written Ford on July 24, telling of the desperate situation at Pine Ridge, occupied by hundreds of gun-toting FBI agents intimidating and harassing traditional people, breaking into homes, destroying property, serving illegal grand jury subpoenas, and ignoring totally the rights guaranteed the Lakota people by the Treaty of 1868.

Ford did not respond to the urgent request for a meeting. So the Lakotas chartered a bus and came to Washington August 31, determined not to leave until they had their meeting. As the group became short of funds, they found hospitality at the Presbyterian Church of the Pilgrims. Some of the members of the delegation had to return to South Dakota, but others remained.

"We've talked to 70 congressmen, we've gotten the support of the congressional delegation from South Dakota, the Black Congressional Caucus, and the National Council of Churches," Red Shirt pointed out. The group had refused to accept a meeting with presidential aides as a substitute for meeting Ford – it had to be heads of state meeting a head of state and nothing less.

"We've had all kinds of commissions and committees meet with us" over the years, Red Shirt explained, "and each time we're worse off than we were before."

It was over a month before the Lakota Treaty Council could get the attention of the media, which had totally ignored their presence in the U.S. capital.

In fact, the *Washington Star* seemed to ridicule the delegation with a September 28 headline: "Powwow Sought With White Father"

The Lakota contingent returned home November 11th, hopeful that the meetings with White House aides would reduce the heavy presence of federal paramilitary troops on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Chief Oren Lyons of the Onondaga Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, who accompanied the Lakotas to see Ford, said the final outcome of the negotiations depends on public reaction. "We see a lot more work to be done," he said. "We need a lot more support."

The encounter with Ford was low key. He walked in on a discussion between the native people and his aides, together with the Justice Department. Ford told the Lakotas he was grateful for their leadership, although he didn't say why it had taken him from July 24 until November 11 to recognize that they were waiting on his doorstep to see him.

"I can assure you that all people working with me will be sympathetic and will be cooperative. We are greatly encouraged by the kind of responsibility that all of you have shown as leaders of the Sioux tribe," Ford said.

Also attending the meeting were presidential assistant Theodore Mars, associate counsel Bobbi Kilberg, associate deputy attorney general Togo West, and representatives of the American Arbitration Association.

The Lakota delegation said they were in Washington representing their nation, and that they had come to see the head of the United States about violations of their mutual treaty of 1868. They said they were raising an international issue.

The Lakota Nation was guaranteed the right to control their own destiny in the 1868 treaty. But that guarantee was broken first by one General George Armstrong Custer, and it has been broken regularly since. "It's been promises, promises from the Government, and they break their word," James Holy Eagle, 86, an Oglala chief told reporters after he had seen Ford. "They gave their word there would be no fighting between the Government and the Indians, and they broke their word a few years later when Custer attacked the Sioux."

"We are entering a new era with the United States Government," Louis Bad Wound said.

Among the complaints they had to discuss with the White House were the 54 deaths which have occurred since the end of the Wounded Knee Occupation in May, 1973, most of them to supporters of the American Indian Movement.

Bad Wound said the FBI agents harass the Indians as they "play out their childhood fantasies about cowboys and Indians – only those are real bullets and we're real Indians."

Larry Red Shirt, who coordinated the Lakota Treaty Council, said the White House had "indicated some willingness" to remove the FBI if the BIA police at Pine Ridge can continue pending criminal investigations and keep order. Traditional Lakotas have said that the BIA police has worked hand-in-hand with lawbreakers and have themselves bloodied their hands.

Matthew King stressed that the persons the Lakota Treaty Council represent – Lakota citizens – do not want to live under U.S. law, but rather the natural law guiding the religious principles of the Sioux. "I've waited 100 years for the white man to adjust himself to the law of nature," he said, adding that "the Great Spirit will destroy him" if he does not.

King said the U.S.-supported administration of Dick Wilson at Pine Ridge is corrupt, and without tribal support. "It's hard to govern at Pine Ridge with so many laws. You white men are the slave of the state, and you'll never get out of that, either. You have no voice – you have no freedom. We want to get away from that. We want to be free. We don't want to be slaves in our own country."

Frank Fools Crow, Lakota Chief

"In the aftermath [of the agents' deaths] more than 200 FBI agents, armed with automatic weapons, armored personnel carriers, helicopters and spotter planes, backed by hundreds of vigilante cowboys, BIA law enforcement people, goon squad, invaded and occupied what little land we have left,' the Lakotas said in a press release.

Under the guise of "investigating" the incident, the FBI has selectively harassed and intimidated the traditional people of the reservation, breaking into homes, destroying property, serving illegal grand jury subpoenas when people remain silent, and ignoring totally the rights of the Lakota people under treaty and constitutional laws.

It is eminently clear from the crisis conditions on and off the reservation – the daily deaths, the continuing corruption of tribal regime, absence of any opportunity for our people to direct our own destiny – that the many meetings and hearings, commissions and investigations, recommendations and reports, before and since Wounded Knee '73, went for naught.

The various government delegations from the Justice Department, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Interior Department, and Congress have been coming to our reservation many times in the past merely to listen. These delegations have never been empowered to do any more than listen. While many recommendations have been made, no reforms have gone further than the paper they were printed on.

The Lakota people and the traditional chiefs and headmen refuse to continue on this administrative treadmill. We know it leads nowhere. With the situation so serious, and since all other governmental channels have been exhausted to no avail – in accordance with Lakota Law, U.S. Law, and International Law, the Chiefs of the Lakota Nation and the Chiefs of the U.S. Government must meet to undertake positive approaches. . .

The situation on and off the reservation still is today and will be tomorrow that of an extremely explosive situation that could blow up again into another blood bath. We recognize that many, many other reservations and other tribes throughout the country are presently undergoing and suffering similar situations, if not the same.

We know that the U.S. Government is involved in an attempt to systematically destroy all forms of resistence in the struggle of our people because of the coming Bicentennial Celebration. We also know that we have the only untapped natural resources in the country, and in the days of New York City bankruptcy, national energy crisis, inflation, recession, etc., the eyes of the monstrous corporate state, backed by their military, take hold once again on our homeland and burial grounds of our ancestors.

Right now, in the whole state of South Dakota, especially on Pine Ridge Reservation, our Lakota people are constantly under gunfire, persecution, harassment, intimidation, and in constant suffering every day and night.

. . . As leaders of our People, we will no longer stand by and allow U.S. Government forces to continue in their outright acts of war against our people. Whether the President gives a "yes" or "no" answer, we ask for your continuing support in whatever actions are taken by the Traditional Chiefs and headmen of our nation.

From the Land of the Lakota, we send this voice with one mind, one spirit and one body. Hoka Hey K'ecetu Yelo!

Bad Wound said that the negotiations with Ford's staff would continue to work towards the formation of a presidential commission to investigate the treaty issues.

He added that while the group was happy for the short meeting with Ford, "we will not allow ourselves to be patted on the head, given $5, and sent home. That will not happen."

Financial support of the Lakota Treaty delegation in Washington for food and other needs can be sent to Lakota Treaty Council, Box 2337, Rapid City, South Dakota 57701.

The Native American Solidarity Committee is a coalition of organizations and individuals united by their support for the struggles of Indian people, including treaty rights. NASC has four main goals: education of non-Indians about native struggles, mass organization of non-Indians in solidarity with native struggles, national press coverage of native news, and the defeat of the BIA's racist and colonialist policies.

The Native American Support Committees need individuals to set up local groups, and for existing groups to work in coalition. Contact:
Native American Support Committees
POBox 3426
St. Paul, Minnesota 55165
telephone (612) 224-7687

AN INTERVIEW WITH JOHN TRUDELL

[This article is compiled from an interview conducted with John Trudell by Runa Simi, to which we are grateful.]

On the evening of July 17, I had an argument with John Gray, the man who runs the trading post. We argued about his high prices and his credit practices, and the way he treats the people – his racist attitude toward the community of people he's supposed to be serving. We had an argument, and it got out of hand, and I fired a pistol through the ceiling and I left.

All this happened because the man has been arrogant to the community because he has to answer to no one except the BIA. We have had a tribal work experience program for some of the welfare people. The BIA had run the program previously, but it had just contracted the program to the tribe. The BIA was late in transferring the money to the tribe's account, so no checks could be issued, and some people were three weeks late in getting their money. The trading post cut some of their credit off. Now it wasn't their fault – it was totally beyond their control. The same day, I was in the trading post, and a woman came in and she wanted to change from food stamps to commodities because she had no money to buy food stamps, but she was denied any food.

That trading post has made a lot of money off the welfare people, and yet it doesn't have the decency to treat the people respectfully.

As far as violence is concerned, no violence was used. I discharged a firearm into the ceiling, maybe injured a can of tomato juice – but if I had wanted to be violent, I'd have used violence on him.

But the trading post participates in a violent system. It is protected by racist federal laws and a racist federal institution, the BIA. It is protected by these things so it can perpetuate its violence of racism, of disrespect, of arrogance. I'm just as against violence as anyone else, but I'm against all violence.

What happened in the trading post was an argument. It got out of hand – I'll admit to that. But because I belong to AIM and am the national chairman of AIM, I was not accorded due process the night of the incident.

After the shot was fired, I got into my car and went home. I was watching television when the policemen came and said they had to arrest me for attempting to rob the trading post. I said, hey – I didn't try to rob that man; we had an argument. I said I won't go with you – I want to talk with someone from the tribe, because I don't want to be railroaded, and that's what I see coming.

So they made arrangements for me to see the tribal police, the tribal judge, and the tribal chairman. But the head criminal investigator for the BIA, a man named Moran from Elko, a hundred miles away. As soon as he had heard a complaint had been filed against me, he put on a total news blackout. He moved all the BIA police in from eastern Nevada, and established a roadblock around my house.

My wife went to find the tribal chairman to get him to the scene. About five hours had transpired by this time until finally the tribal judge got to the house. I talked with him and one tribal policeman. They told me I was now charged with assault with a deadly weapon. I asked if they would guarantee my safety. I said I would not surrender to the Bureau, but I would surrender to the tribe. So they took me to the tribal jail.

Then Moran just took me off the reservation.

Under the present set-up, the U.S. would have had the right to arrest me, if they would have followed the legal procedures. If they want to remove someone from the boundaries of the reservation, they have to show cause and have a warrant to present to a tribal court and then the tribal court makes a ruling allowing the removal. But that didn't happen in my case – they just came and picked me off.

If due process would have been allowed, the tribal court would have heard both sides of what happened. There is the possibility there would have been no charges, or if there were some, they wouldn't have been among the "Eleven Major Crimes."

It wasn't a major crime. Although I was accused of assault with a deadly weapon, there was no injury to anyone. But by the "assault with a deadly weapon" charge, it implied I hurt someone. Emotionally, maybe, but physically no. But if we're going to go on the basis of emotional hurt, the entire reservation has been hurt emotionally, but that man hasn't been charged.

As it came down, it was a white man's word against an Indian's word, and the U.S. Government is doing everything they can to back that white man. They're using the taxpayers' resources, they're using the racism of the federal law, the racism of the local politicians, the local BIA structure. They're using the institutionalized racism of those structures to deny me with due process.

The Victim Becomes the Villain

[After Trudell's arrest, Jack Keith, a special FBI agent in charge of Nevada, put out a press release that was circulated to the major wire-services stating Trudell was drunk at the time of a "robbery". He said Trudell had automatic weapons, that there was a shootout, and Trudell was finally subdued by federal police.]

The U.S. over-reaction, lies, overt show of paramilitary force, the heavy charges – it's standard operating procedure for "militant Indians." They put out all this false information, but the people of the community could see who the liars were – they could see right out front from the beginning that the Federal Government was lying. The people would have known if there was a shootout, or if I was drunk and raising hell.

I see a close correlation to the thing that happened in Nevada and the thing that happened in Oglala with the dead FBI agents. Here's the government making a lot of insinuations, accusations, and outright lies. Ambush, FBI agents executed, 100 Indians in a house, 16 Indians in a house, 40 Indians in a house – things they have never proven or backed up. As a result, they can set any kind of bonds, they can charge any number of people, they can run any kind of game, just on the basis of lies and accusations.

Fortunately, I had been in Owyhee long enough it just didn't work. But I would hope that by now, all people would start asking valid questions. I would hope they would see the FBI is just an extension of a criminal government.

As far as jurisdiction goes, when you really get down to it, the people on the reservation, the tribe itself, must have their own legal system, and their own law. Through this system, they maintain the proper peace and law and order within the community by holding all people on the reservation subject to those laws. This includes the white BIA agent, it includes the Indian BIA worker, it includes the Indian welfare recipients, the white public health administrator, the school teachers – everyone should be held accountable to the laws of the people of the reservation.

This is the key issue in this whole incident. The tribe does not have jurisdiction over the people on its reservation. They do not have total legal control – that's how come trading post people can operate like racist thieves – they don't have to answer to the tribe, they just answer to the Bureau. And we should know by now that a white businessman living in an Indian community isn't going to get any flak from the Bureau.

Lack of jurisdiction by the tribe was one of the conditions which led up to the confrontation with John Gray anyway. The tribe couldn't do anything about the way he operated. They were always told by the Bureau, take him to the state court. But the issues are not ones for the State of Nevada to decide – they are for the Indian community.

So as to the government's right to arrest, they don't have the right to arrest me along racial lines. They don't have the right to arrest me on political lines, or along religious lines. But that's the only time they exercise their right to arrest.

The only two reasons they took me off the reservation were that I belonged to AIM, and because I was accused of attacking a white man.

A Legal Basis To Do What They Want

About a week after I was charged, the tribal council passed a resolution demanding that my trial be held on the reservation. Also, the people on the reservation circulated a petition demanding the same thing.

When I was arraigned in Reno, the tribal council presented the petition and the resolution to the court, because that's where I was accused of commiting the crime, and where I could have a trial by my peer. My lawyers also filed some motions, and the court set October 24 as a jurisdiction hearing date.

The hearing was well attended. Many people came in from the reservations, from northern California. It was a pretty full courtroom. Three motions were filed by my attorneys. One was that the U.S. lacked jurisdiction, another was that if it had jurisdiction, it should be turned back to the reservation, and third, they asked that all my FBI, CIA, and other intelligence files be turned over for my defense.

The judge ruled against all of them. He told the community of Owyhee that "responsible citizens" had assured him that the trial could not be held in Owyhee, so he ruled against them too.

After my preliminary hearing, the executive director of the Nevada Indian Commission had met privately with my judge, and told him the trial could not be held on the reservation. By ruling in his favor and ruling against the tribal council and the people, the court was telling me the people of the reservation were not "responsible citizens."

The court agreed with the prosecutor saying that well, yes there were treaties, but that the U.S. Congress had the right to nullify and change the treaties, and in the past the U.S. had pretty well done what it damn well wanted to, so you guys got a legal basis to do what you damn well want to now.

What I got out of that was that the judge was a part of the overall conspiracy. He pretends that he is a person of "judicial background". He pretends he has respectibility. But in the end, he is just part of the overall conspiracy of white supremacy, because he will not recognize the valid of agreements made between nations just because now those nations are now surrounded by his nation.

That judge didn't give the slightest most remote possibility to the idea of a fair trial for me. He didn't waste twenty seconds thinking about trial by peers and the so-called principles of the so-called constitution which he is supposed to have sworn to uphold. He just played the federal game.

It would have been foolish for me to sit there and be railroaded.

I have not been accused of committing any crimes in Reno – why the hell should I stand trial in Reno. I've always been told that I should tell the truth in a courtroom, so I just told them the truth of the way I felt.

Passive Resistance to a Charade

[At Trudell's hearing in Reno, he addressed the court. He categorically stated that he would not come voluntarily to be tried in Reno, and he demanded to be locked up, saying he'd already been found guilty by the justice system. He demanded to have his bail bond revoked. Trudell said he did this not because he wanted to go to jail, but because he would no longer participate in a charade that justice was being done. At that time, and after the hearing, he made these statements:]

The jurisdiction issue is no longer a point of law – the judge has caught a lot of pressure to keep my trial out of the Indian community. He's got it from the U.S. Attorney's office, from the FBI, from the Governor's office. But if he were a fair man, if he believed in the U.S. Constitution, he would have closed his eyes to that pressure and sent me back to the reservation to be tried.

The people of Owyhee aren't here just because I'm an Indian – they're here because they want to see justice served in their community. They want to see what kind of an excuse the Government can come up with to deny them that justice.

We have people here who have never been two hundred miles from their home, but they've come down here to Reno to see just how this federal system operates. They want to see if this thing the politicians talk about is going to work in their favor.

– Militant photo by Harry Ring
John Trudell, AIM National Chairman

I have no intention of coming back to court here in Reno again. If they want me here on trial, they can come to get me. I have no intention of fighting with the police, or of running away from the police. I'll be at my home. I'll no longer go along with this charade of justice. I'm not shelling out another penny and spending another nine hours behind the steering wheel of a car to make one of these rinky-dink court appearances.

The way I look at it, I'm innocent until I'm proven guilty, and I'm entitled to a trial by my peers. It is the obligation and responsibility of the state, the U.S. attorney's office, and the federal court system to treat me as an innocent man. They have not done so. They have

placed exhorbitant bonds on me. The FBI has slandered my name. The news media has tried to build me up as being a "militant" by carrying distorted information. They have convicted me in their own minds. The bureaucracy has already found me guilty. The hell with them — let's not even have a trial. Just lock me up today, or they can send the police to pick me up when it's time to come, because I'm not coming in on my own free will. I will not.

I'm not going along and help them put on a charade that justice is taking place. I'm not going to play that game. It's a matter of conviction. If they want me to be here for trial, they can lock me up today, or they can send the police to pick me up when it's time to come, because I'm not coming in on my own free will. I will not.

I think it's time for Indian people around the country to start assuming jurisdiction on their land. They should start treating all people equally under their law — red, black, white and yellow. I don't care what their cultural background or religious background, but when someone commits a crime on a reservation, the people of that reservation should administer the justice.

It's not a matter of people around the country helping me here — they should seize control of their own jurisdiction and help themselves. The days of the double standard of justice, the days of more protection by the law because your skin is white — these days have got to end.

It's time for the Indian community to recognize that the white bureaucrat running the BIA, and the white bureaucrat running the state political system, and the white bureaucrat running the federal political system aren't going to help us. They won't help us until we make them help us. If we go around with our hat in our hand, they'll give us the same lies that George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson and the rest of those fools gave us. They'll continue the lies because the white political system has learned that, hell, it's easy to lie to those Indians, so we'll just lie to them and pretend that we're going to help them.

So take control. Get the tribal councils to tell the police to stop anyone who commits a crime and take them before the courts. Take control and have elections that will direct the council. Take control means if you have to sit down and rewrite your tribal constitution, do it — but take control. Don't let this charade go on any longer.

The People vs. "Responsible Citizens"

After the hearing, quite a few Owyhee people were upset, because they had considered themselves responsible citizens, and the judge had ruled that they weren't. We had worked through the elected system within the reservation. We worked through the establishment. We had followed the proper way the feds told us we were supposed to follow. And still, they turn around with an arrogant remark about "responsible citizens". That antagonized the community.

When they did that, it became more evident to the community there was no way I could get a fair trial off the reservation. Even more evident, the community saw they had every right to go ahead and hold that trial themselves.

So, a tribal member signed a complaint against me, using as the basis John Gray's written statement to the FBI about the incident in the trading post. The tribal court issued an arrest warrant. The BIA agency superintendent and the criminal investigator, Moran, refused to serve that warrant for 18 hours. They holed up in the agency office, doing everything they could to prevent the tribe from assuming jurisdiction.

But finally, the tribal chairman said they'd better serve it. I was then arrested, taken to tribal court. I pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to 90 days in jail, and a $150 fine. I could either serve the 90 days, or pay it at the rate of $2 a day. I didn't have the money, so I figured I'd sit in jail. I would be in the jail and if they wanted me to come to Reno to stand trial, they could come and break me out of this jail and take me to stand trial again, which would be double jeopardy — trying me twice for the same incident.

The first federal reaction was to say that the federal charge against me, because "dual sovereignty" applied in my case, whatever that means. Then five days later, the feds said they would drop the charges because I "was not an Indian." You know, someone's going to have to tell the BIA that half the Indian population in the country isn't recognized by the BIA.

After the U.S. dropped charges against me, the community took up a collection and paid the rest of my fine and the $2 a day so I could be released.

Once again, the government's lies didn't affect the community. The government lied because they didn't want to admit that the tribe had every legal and moral basis for doing what it did. The government didn't want other Indian communities to see that someone had been told no, but they went ahead and did it anyway. That's the last thing they want people to think about, so they tried to cover it up with a lie.

I was born. I have lived my entire life on the face of this earth. For 29 years, I never heard the government going around calling me white. I never heard white people going around calling me white. Everybody always called me an Indian.

The second thing I did was to produce my birth certificate which shows I am an Indian, and I produced an affidavit from my father saying he is an Indian. The tribal court had a hearing because they wanted the BIA and the U.S. Attorney's office to present the documentation showing that I wasn't an Indian. The government never responded. The only reaction they could give was, "It wasn't documented." That was their total response, so that is just another tactic they used.

Now the state of Nevada wants to get involved. That's why I'm saying it's politics. The state wants to get in on this political gang-jump and attack me because I happen to belong to the American Indian Movement. Yet I wasn't accused of any crimes against the state — I was accused of a crime against the peace and dignity of the Shoshone/Paiute people.

I Belong To AIM & I'm Proud Of It

The Government has said that if you belong to the American Indian Movement, you have no credibility.

They've always said the AIM people do not have the same philosophy as the Indian people in general.

But what's happened in Owyhee is that I belong to AIM, and I'm proud of it, and I always will be, and we've proven that the people stood behind the principle that they had the right to run their own judicial system. They have the right to make anyone who lives on that reservation subject to the laws of the reservation.

Another immediate gain is that the tribe went to the Government, and the Government told them no, but the tribe did not consider that to be the end of the world. They knew that if the Government had the right to say no, they had the right to say yes. The people felt that justice was not being served, so they took their own direct action to produce justice.

I wasn't really the issue except in the eyes of the Government. The issue in the eyes of the People was jurisdiction — they had seen too many of our own people taken off that reservation and railroaded in white courts. They have lived too long watching the BIA in its arrogance protecting the white racists. They have been lied to too long by federal officials.

We talk about a high Indian death rate, about a lack of education. We talk about alcoholism and poor public health services, and about robber trading post people. These people operate like this against us because they know they don't have to answer to us. If we want to straighten out the social problems in our communities, the political problems, then everyone has got to answer to the law of our communities.

No more of this white trading post operator robbing the people and treating them disrespectfully because the people have no jurisdiction over him. No more of our children being pushed out of the schools because of the racism in their systems because we have no control over the school teachers and control over the school board. No more of this.

No more of the sportsmen and fisherman coming in to the reservations and ignoring totally our laws of hunting and fishing because we lack jurisdiction over them.

All these things have got to be stopped, and only we can stop it. The people have got to get together and not be intimidated by madmen who call us names and tell us 'that's not the way to do things'.

I'll tell you the way not to do things — you're not supposed to lie to the people, and the politicians have done this. They are the ones who have been doing things wrong.

You're not supposed to protect one race of people from another race of people under the name of the law. So the law enforcement agencies are the ones who have been doing things wrong.

You're not supposed to use education as a form of warfare because of race and culture. The teachers and the school boards and the educators have been doing things wrong, and we don't have to listen to them anymore.

The white man has told us "the majority rules". He has pumped that into our heads from the day we were old enough to walk. He has used the majority rule lie to deny us our basic human rights.

Let's evaluate majority rule. Majority rule on the reservation means that the Indians are in the majority, and the white people on that reservation will have to live by what the majority of the people want, and if the majority of the people happen to be Indian, I'm sorry, that's just the way it is. If I go to live in Reno, I have to live how the white people want me to live and answer to their laws.

If the white security seekers, the white incompetents who fill up the offices of the BIA and the Public Health Services and the school rooms — if these people want to live in our communities, then they have to answer to our laws. The majority rules. If they can't do that, then bye-bye — they can go live with the white people.

When I'm talking like this, I don't want people to misunderstand.

We're talking now about a realignment of people's justice. We're talking about a realignment of social conditions. We're talking about creating an environment so Indian people can survive in their culture, just like the white people have managed to survive in theirs.

I'm not talking racist perspectives. I'm not a racist against the white people. I don't want our communities to become racist against the white people. But we've got to recognize the truth, and the truth happens to be this: racism isn't the issue, but the issue is that we doubt the capacity of the white man to govern fairly, and this doubt comes from the past actions of white societies.

When it comes down to Indians vs. white, the federal government always back white. The people of Owyhee are getting fed up with this type of system which denies them their human rights. They want to see justice too. They want to sit in here at Reno to see what type of excuse the government will come up with now about why I can't be tried at Owyhee. The Government will take me 400 miles away from the community to argue before a white court why they can't try me in Owyhee, but this time the people of Owyhee said we're going to come down to hear their excuses.

Then we'll understand. We'll know where the government is coming from. There'll be no more bullshit. Either the Government will obey its constitution, or the Government will not obey its constitution, but the Indian people are now going to know which way it is going to go.

The Indian elders have been putting up with all this crap all their lives. They have heard every promise that the last four generations of politicians have made — they've heard it all. And they know nothing has changed from the day they were born to today. The rhetoric and the promises remain the same, and the way we have to live remains the same.

They recognized that one step toward stopping all these bad things was to exercise their own jurisdiction. And in this case, they did that. They exercised their own jurisdiction, and they felt much better for doing it.

I don't think the people will ever go back to totally accepting anything the way it was.

The U.S. may wipe out the individual Indians, but it can't wipe out the philosophy.

The people in the communities have to wake up and accept the fact that just sitting back and just passively waiting for the BIA and the white political structure to change its ways doesn't produce anything — just more hard-times, more poverty, more suicides, more alcoholism, more welfare.

I would hope that other communities would look at the series of events in Owyhee, and see what was accomplished when people from a community have something they believe in, and assumed the right to carry out their beliefs. That's all it was — the Government tried to cry "militants" and tried to scare people and tried to stereotype, but the people had a stronger sense of what was right than the Government had of what was wrong.

The State Moves In

[On December 10, the U.S. Attorney directed BIA police at Duck Valley to permit state police officers to enter the reservation to arrest Trudell. Officers did arrest Trudell on a state charge of attempted robbery, and took him to the Elko County Jail.

Local district attorney Robert Manley has been pushed into the situation by the U.S. — setting the state up as a patsy to do the federal dirty work. Trudell has been released on bond, and there will be hearings to determine if the state has jurisdiction.

[Information from a reliable source is that the BIA is now moving automatic weapons and gas bombs into Duck Valley, apparently feeling that there is enough tension at this isolated reservation to cause another Wounded Knee situation.

[Of even more serious concern is the information that a special police agent has been posted at Duck Valley to monitor Trudell. This man has bragged of killing another person at Pine Ridge, and is reported to have said that it wouldn't take much for him to get Trudell. When the recent state arrests were made, it was this agent who identified Trudell for the arresting officers.]

" What Law Have I Broken? Is It Wrong For Me To Love My Own ? Is It Wicked For Me Because My Skin Is Red ? Because I Am Lakota, Because I Was Born Where My Father Lived, Because I Would Die For My People And My Country "

Leonard Crow Dog is a medicine man of the Lakota People at Rosebud Reservation, as was his father and his fathers before him. He has also been a spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, and as such, has faced a long series of legal harassments in the current repression of those who stand firm in their belief they belong to sovereign nations holding solemn treaties with the United States of America. Financial and other assistance to prevent Crow Dog from spending more time in the U.S. prison system can be sent to Crow Dog Defense Fund, Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. The photograph for this poster was taken by Juan Reyna for AKWESASNE NOTES at the IFCO Consultation at Rosebud, October 1, 1975. This poster is one of a series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Reprints of this poster, or any of the others, are available on heavy paper in color. They are 50 cents each. They can also be obtained at 3 for $1 plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube by writing AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. The poster is also available in quantity as a useful means for groups raising funds for Crow Dog's legal defense.

The IFCO Native American Consultation — A Report

A historic meeting between Native American groups and national church representatives took place on the Rosebud Reservation in early October.

About 150 persons had been invited to the consultation by The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and by the Rosebud Tribal Council. People responded from twelve church denominations, fourteen tribes, and seventeen states. Nations represented included Yakima and Northern Cheyenne, Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Creek, Pima, Hopi, Oglala, Sisseton, Wahpeton. Organizations included the National Congress of American Indians, the American Indian Movement, the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, National Indian Youth Council, AKWESASNE NOTES, International Indian Treaty Council, and many others.

Representatives of United Methodist and United Presbyterian agencies joined persons from the Church of the Brethren, Mennonites, Disciples, American Friends, Episcopalians, Reformed Church, Catholics and Lutherans. The Presbyterian Church, U.S., the American Baptists, and the United Church of Christ had the largest delegations.

Proceedings of the conference will be available from IFCO, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. This issue of AKWESASNE NOTES is also the regular issue of IFCO NEWS, and is being sent to IFCO NEWS subscribers.

It was an amazing group of people. People from Indian communities, people from Indian organizations, people from all aspects of church leadership and resource offices, people from governmental agencies relating to Indians, people from the news media — all kinds of people gathered in a dingy townhall in Mission within the boundaries of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation on October 1, after having driven across long stretches of open plains, or arriving in the dead of night at the small airport in Pierre to wonder what kind of place lay at the end of their 90-mile car-trip from the airport.

Leadership of various churches were seeking to understand the complexities of the many issues facing the Native American, not only out of a growing sense of mission, but out of a need to face decisions being pressed by Indian people from all aspects of Indian society and to face these decisions from a broader base of knowledge and feeling for the Native peoples of this land. A growing sense of urgency faces Indian people today whether they are a part of tribal council structures, grass-roots organizations, on or off-reservation communities, and regardless of the form that a particular issue may take in their particular community.

This sense of urgency arises out of two all-encompassing forms of oppression which have always faced Indian people: 1) ongoing efforts by the majority culture to assimilate the many and varied tribal expressions of Indian culture, and 2) new legal spear-heads on the part of local, state, and especially the Federal Government to undercut the rights, freedom, and sovereignty of Indian people.

This sense of urgency has brought Indian people to seek access to the resources of the church and to move these many institutions to act in support of native peoples from a sense of mission and responsibility which allows Indians to struggle for their own way of life with all its richness *in a society that seeks to benefit, as it has already, from the destruction of these same peoples.*

An idea was conceived to bring church leadership, representatives of decision-making power within the churches, together with a wide perspective of active leadership within the Indian community and attempt to create a forum for dialogue and hard strategy.

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, because of its involvement with both the Indian and church communities, received varying requests of a general need, but the germ of the specific idea for the consultation came to IFCO at the urging of George Telford, General Secretary of the Board of National Missions for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.

In an attempt to make such a wide forum a reality, IFCO called together a planning committee from the different perspectives of church and Indian worlds alike to strive for some sense of common purpose. IFCO invited other ecumenical bodies such as Joint Strategy & Action Committee [JSAC], the National Council of Churches' Division of Church & Society; and the Commission on Justice, Liberation and Human Fulfillment, to join in the planning along with the denominations.

People representing 14 tribes, 12 denominations and various levels of regional and national perspectives gathered in Bureau of Indian Affairs school dormitories to share not just intellectual ideas in the small town hall in Mission, but in experiences — together.

Early in the meeting, Leonard Crow Dog, a spiritual leader of the Lakota people and the American Indian

— Wilfred Bailey/IFCO photo

Jim West, Cheyenne, Consultation Co-Chairman

Movement, and host to the many spiritual leaders who gathered from the Creek, Onondaga, Hopi, and other nations, stated the need for a spiritual base for the consultation and the many activities it might bear:

"I'm trying to let the Indian tell the truth — the truth will make you free. You church people will know and will hear. You will know to understand. Most of my life I will be harassed by the FBI [because I speak the truth]. Many of the spiritual people across the country should get together like this more often. How could we save the soul? How could we save the spirit? And not only the spirit, but the human being that is visited by this spirit."

After hearing the great variety of presentations, the consultation was faced with the task of responding in a human and institutionally realistic way. Jim Christison, General Secretary of the American Baptist Board of National Ministries, rose to speak on behalf of the church leadership present to call for the formation of six workshops: communications, theological/spiritual, lobbying, legal assistance, curriculum and hunger.

Workshop recommendations included an ecumenical bail bond fund, denominational support of several hunger projects and Survival Schools; use of native American curriculum in seminaries, and briefings of Washington staff people on current issues.

The Core planning committee included: Elmer Savilla, President of the Quechan Tribe in Yuma, Arizona, and member of the National Tribal Chairman's Association; Jimmy Durham, coordinator for the American Indian Treaty Council; Annette Anderson, chairperson of the American Baptist Native American Caucus; Gene Crawford, National Indian Lutheran Board and chairperson of the JSAC Indian Ministries Task Force; Robert Burnette, president of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council and member of the National Congress of American Indians; Jim West, Cheyenne, IFCO staff associate; William Fox of the Christian Church's Reconciliation program; Jose Velasco, Presbyterian Church, U.S.; Chris Cavendar of the National Committee on Indian Work, Episcopal Church; Patricia Bellanger, St. Paul American Indian Movement; Joel Martinez, United Methodist Board of Global Ministries; Dennis Banks, field director, American Indian Movement; and Marilyn Clement, associate director of IFCO, with Eleanor McKenney, secretary.

The committee, as a result of its representative nature, experienced both confrontation and honest reaching out. A philosophy of open and honest sharing not only had to become a part of the many styles of thought,

spirit, and action within the Indian community and within the church community, but had to cut through the long and tragic history between Indian people and the church. As Marie Helene Laraque of INDIGENA stated in a letter to the consultation concerning church activities throughout the Americas today: "The Christian religion in its many confusing forms continues to be used as an important weapon to undermine our traditions and to destroy our people. Even today, in many places, it still holds true that the missionary and the soldier are the most effective tools for civilizing the Indians — civilizing Indians to almost complete destruction of most tribal people."

— analysis by James West, IFCO

dialogue

The IFCO Consultation was a learning experience for a hundred church officials, and a chance for a few score of native speakers and leaders to talk with each other. There were panels, speeches, discussions, conversations, arguments. Whether it "did any good" is yet to be seen.

Indian spirituality was discussed often. Sometimes the going was hard — the term "religion" as it is used and as most Christian people relate to it is not a proper word to describe the native way of life in North America. And unlike Christianity, the natural ways and spirituality are difficult to explain verbally, because most of it is conveyed through experience.

philip deere

Philip Deere, a Creek medicine man, spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, and a part of White Roots of Peace, related to the Consultation:

"Indian culture or religion is very important to Indian people. Our whole life is based upon our religion and culture. As a trarlitional, I have to show respect to our Mother Earth. I have to show respect to all Creation.

"We are serious people. I have no time to discuss anything else but my Indianness.

"The law of love, peace, and respect is the basis of Indian law. The doors of the Indian people have always been open — for that reason Christopher Columbus landed on our shores and white people have been here ever since. I oftentimes wonder — should those doors remain open to those who violate Indian law? The Indian people believe in the Truth, not so much in the fact, because fact is something society has picked up to 'keep the peace' The court system is based on fact — our religion is based on Truth.

"In order to prove the Truth, you do not have to represent a thousand people. I always hear the question, 'How many people do you represent?' 'How many followers do you have?' I ask, what do numbers mean when you speak the Truth?

"Perhaps I do not represent a thousand Indians. Perhaps Leonard Crow Dog does not represent a thousand Indians. Elections are held, yet that does not mean that person elected is going to get you the right thing. If you think that is true, then think about Richard Nixon.

"In the Bible, you will find Truths, not facts.

"Can the courts decide Truth? Many innocent Indian people spend time in your jails throughout the country. In these courts you need a witness. Someone who needs a witness must not trust himself.

"I went to school and had to learn about the Bible. It was written for lost people. But is the Indian lost? As an Indian, I know who I am. But I can remember one lost person — Christopher Columbus.

— Juan Reyna/AKWESASNE NOTES

Philip Deere, Muskogee, a spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, at IFCO Consultation.

"Our Indian way of life has been tested for thousands of years, and we still have it. What has been given to us since the dawn of Creation we are willing to stand up and die for.

"Indian people have one thing over the non-Indian about religion. We do not mock one another's religion. We do not try to convert other people into our religion. We respect one another's religion."

Both Christians and followers of the Original Instructions can identify with the principle of non-violence.

Yet one of the worries of church people has been the many actions which native people have taken which they consider to be "violent" or "militant". In fact, the label implies that native people involved are without religious principle. Philip Deere covered the subject this way in his discussion:

"Talking about violence — if some criminal comes to my house and begins to beat my family, maybe kills one of the members of my family, and I stand up to defend my family, am I a violent person? Do you remember when in that Book, this man called Jesus went into the temple and drove those money-changers out? Did he do a violent act? Was he right? That's how come I don't understand what violence is.

"If it is violent to preserve my religion and my language, then I am violent. If it is militant, then I am a militant.

'A gunshot will kill me, but it will not kill the Indian religion or our Indian beliefs. No gunshots, jailhouses, federal authorities — no one else will ever put down the Indian religion because it has been given to us since the dawn of Creation. We have no book to follow — but we do have a heart and conscience."

This advertisement appeared in the Flint, Michigan, Journal — for which the newspaper later apologized. A local church offered a "scalping demonstration" by a real live Indian to entice children to come to Sunday School.

chuck trimble

Chuck Trimble, the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians [NCAI] got into the controversial subject of tribal government. He lined up with traditional people in saying that "governments should be designed to serve the people. If governments do not serve the people, they should not exist. If they oppress any of their people, they should not exist. And if they do anything to compromise or hurt the traditions, the religions of the people, they should not exist."

Trimble differed, however, with traditional people who were opposed to new-style majority-rule governments.

"The thing that disturbs me to a total point of frustration is the thinking that the real strong sacred religious element of our own Indian society should automatically be opposed to governments in any modern form."

He said regarding the "strong sense of Indianness we are trying to recover," that he would give "credit where credit's due — I think it's been the strong traditional movement that has come back, re-emerged — the American Indian Movement." He said he thought it should be possible to have both "modern government" and "traditional leadership"

[The National Congress of American Indians is located at 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Room 312, Washington, D.C. 20036.]

tim coulter

An issue which faces native nations today is that of treaties and the international implication of those treaties. The current effort is to gain recognition of treaties made between native nations and colonial-style governments. Tim Coulter, who works with the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, gave a brief historical background of treaties:

"Congress has assumed that it has the authority to abrogate, that is to nullify, treaties that have been entered into. Unfortunately, that is true under the laws of the United States. Congress does have the authority to do that. Treaties are placed in U.S. law on a par with Acts of Congress. In other words, if Congress passes a statute today, whcih is in conflict with a treaty made yesterday, the statute governs. Of course, that's entirely contrary to international law. It is never possible under international law for one nation to pass a law in its own country which abrogates its international obligations.

Coulter noted that this principle has been the basis for constant "legal" attacks upon the land base and rights of native people today. "It is this principle, plus flagrant misuse and abuse of the trustee relationship to Indian tribes by the United States Government, that has led to constant legal battles for natural resources that belong to various tribes by treaty.

"Treaties in general are contracts made *between* sovereign governments and *by* sovereign governments. A contract made between sovereign governments is not simply a private agreement which is recognized in the law, but it itself becomes law under international legal principles. [Treaties] create legal obligations on both

— Wilfred Bailey/IFCO News photo
Tim Coulter . . . lawyer for The People

sides. If [a nation] fails to meet those obligations, [it] is liable under international law. [It] may subject [itself] to an international claim. [It] may subject themselves to retaliation by the other nation.

"The Two Row Wampum agreement is as much a treaty and as much a part of the law of nations as the SEATO pact or as NATO or any other treaty you care to call attention to. If you recall, the Two Row Wampum was an effort in general to regulate the intercourse between the Europeans and the Indian Nations. During the colonial period, almost none of the treaties were reduced to writing."

[The Institute for the Development of Indian Law is located at 927 15th St. N.W. Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20005.]

oren lyons

Oren Lyons, a royaner of the Onondaga Nation of the People of the Longhouse, went directly into the sovereignty issue. "Our territories are a nation. We are not a reservation. We have been a nation for at least a thousand years. Our government is not one that is made up from men's ideas — our government is something that was given to us because we needed it.

"We have difficulty with you because in the process of your government, there was a separation between the Church and the State. In the process of our government, it is so intertwined we cannot separate the morality from the political. The reason why they separate your government was that there were many voices — as I sit here, I understand there are eight or nine different denominations present. These are eight or nine different voices. But the voices of Crow Dog, Deere, Banyacya are the same — we all say the same thing.

"At the beginning of this nation which flies the flag of the stars and stripes, our nation was at least 800 years old. We told you about the process of democracy. Your process did not come across the water; you did not bring freedom with you.

"'This is the process we talk about — sovereignty of the individual, the government of the nations, the government of the fish, the nation of birds, the nation of trees.

Within his discussion of the Two Row Wampum Belt, Oren Lyons spoke of the relationship which needs to exist between native people and those who still follow European ways. This relationship requires that both groups co-exist in mutual respect.

"That's all it requires — a tolerance for one another's way of life," Lyons said. "Our tolerance is on a string. Your tolerance has not yet been tested.

"We must work for the welfare of our people. I think the burden is upon you because too long you have been the burden upon us. You sit on our backs. We carry you. Just step off our backs and walk alongside."

dace means

Dace Means, who has been working with the International Treaty Office, spoke about what is happening there now: "We work mostly with contacting different countries to gain support, because that's the only way we will be able to get into the United Nations. There's a battle involved in our trying to gain membership. Some of our critics have stated that we don't have enough land — but there are four countries in Europe [Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg] which are smaller than the Navajo Nation, yet they are all members of the UN. If you took the largest four of the seven Sioux Nations, you'd have enough land for Israel. They also say we don't have enough population, but there are seven countries in the United Nations each with less than 100,000 people. The Navajo Nation alone has 131,000.

ifco

vernon bellecourt

Vernon Bellecourt spoke about the July, 1973, International Treaty Conference held in Mobridge, on the Standing Rock Reservation. This meeting drew 4,000 people from 98 different native nations. "We feel that if we can get 4,000 Indian people together, recognizing that we are only ½ of 1% of the national population, this is a pretty significant cross-section of Indian people from all areas of the country. This was a historic conference, and this is the kind of direction that the American Indian Movement takes. Out of this conference, an International Treaty Council Office was established [777 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.]

"They also say that our being a reservation inside a country is a problem. Yet there are four or five small countries in Europe that are in the same situation, having no open line to an ocean or a body of water. If there is any need that Indian people have, I think it is in this fight for Indian treaties. Our first priority ought to be getting into the United Nations."

Bellecourt also hit at another problem. "The agenda draws a division between urban and reservation Indians — we feel this is a trap that often misleads a lot of people. There is no difference in urban and reservation Indians. I'm an Ojibway if I'm in Hong Kong or France or Denmark or St. Paul or my reservation in White Earth, which I consider as my home."

The American Indian Movement coordinator emphasized the sovereignty issue. "The only way we are going to bring an honest relationship between Native people and the United States Government is to raise this [sovereignty] issue as Puerto Rico is raising it. We realize that until other governments of the world recognize the sovereignty, the nationhood, of our people, the United States Government is going to continue to ignore us.

"When we went to Washington in 1972 and made a presentation to the White House, three months later John Ehrlichman finally came out with some hypocritical statement that this document was much too revolutionary. When we are talking about the freedom of native people and about getting out from under the heel of American colonialism, then the U.S. Government calls it revolutionary and they can't deal with it. This is hypocrisy for a government which says it is

[Continued on next page]

going to try to celebrate a birthday party on July 4, 1976, [an anniversary] when another group of radicals, their militants, took up guns and started shooting police in the valleys of Concord; when their revolutionaries made radical statements like, 'Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes.'

"But we are not talking about that kind of violence. We are talking about bringing our chiefs, our peaceful people, before the World Court and letting it decide whether the United States has had an honest relationship with the Native People.

"In 1972, the American Indian Movement was pushed into the forefront all across the country. For the first time, Indian and non-Indian alike had to stand up and form some kind of opinion as to what AIM was all about. The American Indian Movement has existed ever since Columbus got off the boat.

Bellecourt noted that Dennis Banks had been scheduled to speak at the conference, but he had chosen "political exile rather than submit to a racist judicial system that exists not only in South Dakota, but exists for Indian people throughout the Western Hemisphere. Dennis Banks chose to be a symbol of free resistance, rather than a symbol of resistance in prison. We don't need any more martyrs in jail. We've got enough political prisoners. We in the national American Indian Movement are in full support of Dennis Banks and we will continue to struggle for the rights of native people.

"We hope that along that path we will pick up some friends within the church foundations. We hope to get a clearer understanding from our own Indian people within church organizations. But we are going to continue in our direction with or without that support."

A number of FBI agents were milling in the group, waiting to see if Banks would appear. Bill Means at one point announced, with tongue in cheek, that Banks would be there at 4 p.m. Shortly afterwards, Mission fire sirens wailed and an unusual number of sportily-dressed male "tourists" congregated outside the town-hall.

Bellecourt has said there is a "policy of extinction" being carried out against native people, and that policy is manifested in a three-pronged attack. First, he said the Christian churches have sought spiritual destruction of Indian religion. Second, the education system has eroded native culture. Thirdly, the Federal Government "in collusion with the large energy companies and the military/industrial complex" has followed a path of "land destruction" against native peoples.

The American Indian Movement, he said, worked to counter those destructive tendencies and build a "spiritual rebirth in the Indian people".

Bellecourt said the white man has a powerful role to play in that vision. That role is simply respecting other human beings. "He must recognize us as a culture and respect our customs, our ways, our lands, and our resources. But before he can do that, he must respect himself. Instead, he wants us to look like him, talk like him, and act like him."

Some Christian denominations, Bellecourt said, "build big white churches on reservations. But within the shadow of their steeple, there is poverty, hunger, and human suffering. And we don't want anything to do with them as long as they continue to preach a doctrine of brotherly love yet allow human suffering to continue on their doorstep."

Bellecourt said he was not a Christian, but "Christ was our brother. We have lived the Christian way for thousands of years — but the white man has not."

ted means

Ted Means of the We Will Remember School in Rapid City, South Dakota, and Ralph Ware of the Federation of Survival Schools described the new trend in the education of native children. Means told how it began. "The Survival School was created in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1971, when a young man who was involved with the American Indian Movement decided that because of the racism that exists and the fact that the educational system was totally lacking and totally failing his three sons, he would take his sons out of the public school system. A court battle followed, and the decision of the judge was that if he could provide an alternative education for his children, then he and his wife would not have to go to jail. That day the first Survival School, the Heart of the Earth Survival School, was born.

"The whole basis of the Survival School concept is centered around our spirituality as Indian people. In order for us to survive as a people, we must maintain the religion of our forefathers. We must maintain the language, the songs, the respect for our brother's vision. Our young people must develop within themselves a sense of who they are as Indian persons.

"In the Survival Schools, we do not teach hand-to-hand combat or guerilla warfare — but we do teach respect."

Many persons attending the Survival School in Rapid City are referred by the local probation department. The school is an alternative to public school, boarding school, and in some cases, a state institution. The We Will Remember School drop-out rate is almost zero. The curriculum includes regular academic subjects such as reading, writing, and math, but the emphasis is on cultural education and cultural re-identification of Indian young people.

The school has not received any substantial funding, but operates on small donations, Means explained. "We realize that probably the biggest reason why we don't have funding is because of our involvement with the American Indian Movement. But we don't try to hide that because we have the truth and we have our children.

"This past September 8-13, AIM sponsored an alternative education conference on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. We invited people from all over, yet we did not get the kind of participation from the other Indian organizations and the church bodies that we had expected. But Indian people came from all over this country and Canada to develop a Federation of Survival Schools. At this conference, we put together the kind of thing that will assist us in the exchange of ideas, expertise, and curriculum. The students themselves participated as much as we did.

"We realize that the sources of funding from churches are getting fewer and fewer — especially for anyone involved with the American Indian Movement. People have been throwing mud at AIM for many, many years. We accept this — but all we expect is the same respect that we have afforded you in this country over the years."

[The Survival School system offices are at 643 No. Virginia, St. Paul, Minnesota 55103.]

[The We Will Remember Survival School is located at 807 Fairview, Rapid City, South Dakota 57701.]

HOW TO USE THE BIBLE TO JUSTIFY MANIFEST DESTINY — AND GENOCIDE

[This is an excerpt from an article on the American Indians appearing in the magazine *Plain Truth*, answering the question, "Did White Men Have A Manifest Destiny?"]

Did God really give this land to Anglo-Saxons "to reward their brave spirits"? To answer this question, we must look into a historical section of the book of the white man's religion, the Bible.

Anciently, the God of the Bible spoke to a powerful and wealthy patriarch named Abraham. This story is recounted in Genesis, beginning in chapter 12. God promised to give material and spiritual blessings to Abraham and to many generations of his descendants because of Abraham's loyalty and faithfulness. God also promised Abraham that he would be the father of many nations. The covenant relationship between Abraham and God was to have a great effect on the world, even in modern times.

The covenant did not end with Abraham's death, but was transmitted through his son Isaac and his grandson Jacob, who was renamed Israel. From Jacob was to come a nation and a "company of nations". [Genesis 35:11]

As time progressed, the newly-formed nation, composed of descendants of Jacob's twelve sons,

forgot their covenant relationship with God. They repudiated His laws and customs. They took on the ways of the peoples around them. The historical record in the Bible explains how they went through a series of invasions and finally national captivity as punishment for their individual and national sins. Ten of the twelve tribes disappeared from their homeland in the Middle East long before the Roman Empire emerged as the dominating force on the world scene. Millennia later, they emerged again from obscurity to continue receiving the very promises given to Abraham.

Though white Americans today know little of their origins, no one can deny the coincidence that the peoples of the United States and the British Commonwealth have, in fact, inherited the wealth and power promised in the birthright to Abraham and his descendants. No other nationalities have become the single greatest "nation" and the most expansive "company of nations" respectively, in all of earth's history. These are facts of history.

bill means

Bill Means described the reign of terror on South Dakota reservations — invisible to the scores of representatives at the Consultation, but a constant reality in Lakota lives. "The FBI goes into people's homes. In the community of Parmlee, three helicopters descended on the home owned by the Broken Leg family, a traditional family. They made all the people in that home, including the children, at 6 in the morning, march out of the house with their hands behind their heads. Then they went in and took the sacred pipe, tore open sacred medicine bags, broke pipes and pipestems — threw them all in sacks and marked them as evidence and asked the old people about the whereabouts of Dennis Banks.

"The sound of gunshots is an everyday sound. The sound of police sirens at somebody's home, the sound of 'Open up — this is the FBI!' are very familiar to the people at Pine Ridge."

rarihokwats

Speaking to the Consultation, Rarihokwats, editor of AKWESASNE NOTES, related the terrorism taking place at Pine Ridge to the terrorism in South America: "When those Brazilian Indians are being rounded up by the armies down there, is there any difference between those men and those guns and the ones who point them at Crow Dog and his children right here? It's all the same process, and we are all involved in it.

"When Leonard Crow Dog stands here and talks about what happened to him, I can hardly sit here and listen, knowing that here in this room are all these people, with all these resources of all these churches — and yet what is going to be done?

"You had better be interested, and you had better do something — not for the sake of Leonard Crow Dog, but for the sake of your own children. What is going on here is headed for Chicago, New York — and you are going to be experiencing these things in your own life and your own children will be experiencing these things unless you are able to deal with it and stop it here in Indian Country.

"To expect the Indians to stop it alone is taking a very neutral position. Even simply giving aid to the Indians is only slightly better. This oppression is being conducted by your representatives — these are your people, your soldiers, your government doing these things. You have a responsibility to stop it."

ralph ware

Many challenges and strategies for future action were directed to the church groups. Most called for a change in direction. Ralph Ware commented, "It's easier for you people to give us $5,000 and walk away. I think that you people have an obligation to come to my community and to our Survival Schools and be part of that system we are trying to develop. Take the message back to your people and say, "Hey, I think we ought to get out there and see what's happening."

"Two years ago, I said that I would never come before another white group again, because it is depressing to see all of us Indian people sit before a group of white people and say, 'This is what we are doing; this is what we need.' We've been doing this over and over again.

"It costs money to get us all up here and to give you a story and for you to do nothing. I don't believe that's right. I don't believe that's fair. I hope that the experiences that you hear encourage you and give you some motivation so that you can go back to your constituents and say, 'We need to get involved with those people.' "

moses big crow

Another type of appeal came from Moses Big Crow, a Rosebud medicine man. He mentioned that non-Indian people would be celebrating a Bicentennial. He hoped there would be legal justice for the native people. "I ask the spiritual people here to pray for this to happen – then we will have something to celebrate."

jim west

Jim West, a Cheyenne working for IFCO and an organizer of the conference, said he hoped for more dialogue between Christians and traditional native spiritual leaders. "The Christian leaders should go to the Indians. I don't mean [they should say] 'Let's get a medicine man to say one of his chants, or incorporate a song or use a peace pipe.' What I am getting at is concepts, Truths.

"Is the church ready to sit down with tribal people who are very knowledgeable of their own tribal religions? I'd like to see this happen. The church has got to begin to invest in Indian leadership, in Indian community, and in a broader sense of mission, because the problems that Indian people face today can no longer be faced by the church through its traditional form."

leonard crow dog

Leonard Crow Dog spoke of his encounters with the "traditional form of the church" – the missionary. "We've been baptised many, many times. They always ask us, 'When are you going to get baptised, Mr. Crow Dog?' I say, 'When all the churches are together.' I'm choosy, so I want to be baptised by one church *if* I'm going to be baptised at all. But until then, I will stand on my own Indian way of life, the traditional way."

marie sanchez

Maria Sanchez, a Cheyenne, spoke of how Christian churches had violated the spirituality of the native people by telling them they had to be saved from their traditional way of life. "The churches preach brotherhood. Well, we are your brothers. We include you in all the prayers that our spiritual leaders say. You are part of humanity. **You are part of this whole universe."**

– Wilfred Bailey/IFCO News photo
Maria Sanchez . . . for the children

Strip-mining is also slated for the Crow Reservation and the Northern Cheyenne in Montana. Maria Sanchez said that her struggle against this "is against the totality of genocide.' She reminded the churches that they were shareholders in the energy companies, and as such, have a responsibility.

"I am the mother of nine children. My concern is for their future, for their children, and for future generations. As a woman, I draw strength from the traditional spiritual people." She described the coal stacks just up-wind from them. The emissions will include sulphur dioxide which will be held in layers by the irregular terrain on the reservation. "The oil and coal companies are building a huge gas chamber for the Northern Cheyennes," she told the Consultation.

– UPI photo
A year ago, Pope Paul VI accepted a chief's headdress from a Catholic group from Gaylord, Michigan. Imagine this scene: a group of ex-Catholics, converted to the Protestant faith, visit a Lakota spiritual leader, and present him with a cardinal's cap and a replica of the Pope's vestments. He wears them, smiling for the Indian photographers covering the event. Fair enough?

gerald wilkinson

Much of Indian territory has been the target of resource exploitation by electric, oil, gas, coal, agricultural, timber interests. Native people find themselves in conflict with interests ranging from commercial fishermen to sportsmen to the Army Corps of Engineers. Gerald Wilkinson, executive director of the National Indian Youth Council, said that the U.S. policy of self-sufficiency announced by President Gerald Ford would happen at the expense of the native people.

He described the coal gasification process in the Four Corners area of Navajo Nation. "Coal gasification is an awesome process. The cost is estimated at between four and seven billion dollars. The process involves taking coal out of the ground, processing it into methane and synthetic gas. To get this process on the road in Navajo Nation, it is necessary to strip-mine 57,000 acres of the Navajo land. This will mean a hole anywhere from 50 to 100 feet deep. Yet the life span of these plants is only 25 years.

"95% of the permanent jobs would be filled by outside workers. As many as 8,000 Navajos will have to be moved. The plants could affect water availability – it would take 10,000 acre-feet of water a year to operate each one of the plants. Water now earmarked for the Navajo Irrigation Project might be the only water available to these plants. Then there is the question of reclaiming the land – there is not sufficient rainfall for reclamation. We hope to bring several law suits in an effort to stop this. The effects on our people and the whole country are very important, because if they can do this here, they can move it to places where non-Indians are."

– Juan Reyna/AKWESASNE NOTES photo
Gerald Wilkinson, executive director, National Indian Youth Council

[The National Indian Youth Council is located at 201 Hermosa, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108.]

'YOU CAN FEEL EVIL FORCES AS THEY WORSHIP THE DEVIL'

This article appeared in a mission newspaper sent to contributors. It is called Indian Trails, and was published at PO Box 1203, Mesa, Arizona 85201.]

Hopi Bible School: Polacca Community Hall was the location. From the song, the joy of the Lord filled every heart. Many decisions were made for Jesus, and hearts were truly blessed.

Pray for Mishongnovi, a Hopi village steeped in witchcraft. Many people feel the Indian dances are for snow and entertainment. However, this year, all visitors have been banned from the snake dance.

If you are ever near one of these dances, you can feel the very presence of evil forces as they actually worship the devil. This is in the United States!

Will you help us pray? A few weeks ago, a grandpa in this village over 100 years old whom had given his heart and life to Jesus died. The part of the family that were Christians stopped by the trailer

and asked us to come and have a Christian burial. When Virgil Ochoa and I arrived in the village, the non-Christian side of the family and traditionals had banned us from helping. They told us to leave, and that they were going to bury him according to traditional ways. We then went to the grave site and were met there by a group of traditional men and were told that we had better get out.

They buried him in a sitting position facing the west in their traditional way. Even though we could not give him a Christian burial, his decision before death is what counted, not the way he was buried.

These people need Jesus. PRAY! PRAY! PRAY!

There are a few Christians in this village, and oh what persecution they suffer. Pray for them. If enough Christian people would ban [sic] together and pray, we could bind the forces of evil and claim this village for Jesus. We have seen this happen in other Hopi villages.

How the Methodists Promised to React

United Methodist representatives to the Consultation said they would press agencies of their church to deal with certain priority concerns.

At the top of their list was the concern about the rights and safety of traditional peoples at Pine Ridge. They called for the United Methodist Church to support the resolution of the United Sioux Tribes dated July 11, 1975, calling for an investigation by independent agencies of the harassments by federal officials, and irregularities of law and order by BIA police at Pine Ridge. They also proposed an interfaith delegation to visit with officials of the Departments of Justice and Interior to inquire into the situation.

Second, they recommended support of the Lakota Treaty Council, seeking a full review of the treaty obligations of the United States. A concern was also expressed for the adequate funding of the International

Treaty Council offices at the United Nations plaza in New York City. That office is trying to bring the issue of treaties between native nations and the United States of America to "the fullest possible attention of the highest bodies of the United Nations."

Delegates also favored the establishment of an interdenominational bail funds for native peoples who are "arrested in rotation and subjected to successive prosecution in an apparent effort to neutralize their effective leadership in any movement which engages in confrontation with the Government of the United States on the essential issues of treaty rights, preservation of traditional culture, re-assertion of distinctive tribal identities."

But more importantly, they said they would ask high-level church officials to make inquiries concerning the practices of setting bail bonds for native peoples charged in political-related crimes.

Following the lead of the Society of Friends (Quakers), representatives at the Consultation said they would urge full-time securely-financed legislative liaison officers on native American issues to serve in informing and sensitizing the churches to legislative proposals on which support was needed from church constituencies. In general, such liaison workers would challenge the churches to give specific expressions of support on strategic native issues before Congress or within executive departments.

[continued on next page]

United Methodists called for a staff person to familiarize the churches with the necessity for native Survival Schools and other Indian-controlled alternative schools, and to seek funding for these programs.

Recognizing there were various levels of understanding within their ranks, the UMC people expressed concern for the lack of understanding and appreciation of native religious concepts. They expressed concern too for the operations of Christians on reservations, and of denominational executives who are responsible for the administration of mission programs and projects on reservations.

Recommendations were made for a series of dialogues with native Holy Men and spiritual leaders for the purpose of re-examination of existing Christian missions on Indian reservations and the role which they possibly have played in contributing to the deterioration of Indian culture and life.

One UMC concern was expressed for "the inattention which has been given by the churches to the historical and current operations of those bureaus and agencies of the federal government which exercise control over the lives and destinies of Native Americans on the reservations, and which inattention has furnished indirect support for those laws and policies which have exploited the resources of Indian tribes and individuals, restricted opportunities for growth and development, and have denied the exercise of true self-determination by Indian people." They asked that staff people be assigned within church boards to become fully familiar with the government operations to which native people have been voicing concerns so that the church can "focus its concern and be intelligently and effectively supportive of those changes in law and administrative policy which would work toward a re-establishment of native American identity, rights, and resources."

Noting that many native situations are of a critical and urgent nature, arising without notice or planning, UMC delegates worried about the capacity of their churches to respond effectively and immediately. They recommended that plans be made for "crisis response", allowing for an on-the-scene presence and involvement of churches so that native people can confront the government on an equal basis.

Now, What Will Be Done?

Native people at the conference wondered if the church representatives had heard them, and if so, what would be done? Did the representatives have the authority or position to be able to move their agencies and churches into action?

A "successful Consultation" can only be measured by concrete action.
And native people are hoping that action will come from their white relatives. They are watching to see if it does.

[This report on the IFCO Consultation was made by Janine Jamieson, a Seneca, for AKWESASNE NOTES and for IFCO News. We are grateful to her for her observations, and to IFCO which made it possible for her to attend.]

WE HAVE HEARD TOO MANY PROMISES AND LIES FROM CHURCH PEOPLE TO LOSE VALUABLE TIME TO ATTEND

[One person invited to the IFCO consultation did not attend – Marie-Helene Laraque, director of INDIGENA, a documentation center on the native peoples of the Americas at POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704. She did send a letter, which was read at the consultation. This is its text.]

Dear friends,

Most of the concerns, needs, and conditions of Indian people to be discussed at this conference can be said to be true not only for particular tribes in the United States, but for most Indians throughout the entire "western hemisphere, in North, Central, and South America.

We are many nations, but we are one people.

We are not a minority – there are 40 million of us.

We are fighting for survival – for the right to live, to shape our own lives, to be free human beings.

Throughout both continents, we face the same enemies: greed, corruption, manipulation, materialism, and technological expansion – all excused as "Manifest Destiny – [by] those who destroy our traditions, steal our lands, and even our souls. Even their tools are the same: violence, deceit, alcohol, poison, and Christianity.

The Christian religion in its many confusing forms continues to be used as an important weapon to undermine our traditions and destroy our people. Even today, in many places, it still holds true that the missionary and the soldier are the most efficient tools for "civilizing" the Indian – "civilizing" amounts to almost complete destruction of most tribal peoples.

Throughout Latin America – which in truth is more Indian than Latin – Christian missionaries of numerous denominations, many of them from the U.S., are working in partnership with racist, ruthlessly oppressive governments. They work to facilitate the destruction of viable ways of life in order to assimilate Indians into the most destitute level of the national populations. Often this is done under the pretense of setting up missions to carry out educational projects in Indian communities, with the same means and results as similar operations in Indian communities in this country – i.e., boarding schools, interference in tribal affairs, appropriation of the best lands, disruption of traditional government, religion, medicine, and family life. In addition, isolation, distance, and the absence of legal recourse for victims have provided greater freedom to some Christian missionaries to perpetrate serious crimes against the Indian people of Latin America. The following are but a brief recent list:

– routine kidnapping and brainwashing of Indian children for purposes of "education" (throughout the hemisphere)

– using Indian children as personal servants (Venezuela)

– introduction of notions of guilt and shame in nakedness, forced imposition of western clothes, resulting in transmission of epidemics of new diseases against which Indians have no natural immunity, thus many deaths (throughout Amazon region)

– the banning of Indian ceremonies, dances, use of feathers, and even traditional foods, resulting in nutritional deficiencies (Brazil)

– orders to arrest Indian families engaged in the farming of their own reservation lands, illegally expropriated by the Catholic Church (Popayan, Colombia, 1973)

– the removal of the Auca Indians from their oil-rich lands for the benefit of the Shell Oil Company (Ecuador 1971).

This summer, a number of Colombian organizations accused the California-based Summer Institute of Linguistics/ Wycliffe Bible Translators of working as spies for the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], and demanded that they leave their country. And earlier this year, it was revealed that this same missionary organization had actively cooperated with the CIA by using two little-known Bolivian Indian languages as codes to transmit messages during the Viet Nam war.

The Amazon is now being opened up to development as a "last frontier". Many Indian outposts there are manned by missionaries (including North Americans) who also are of crucial importance in the transforming of Indian communities into consumers because the missionaries are also traders. They gradually build up Indian dependency on manufactured tools, foods and clothes which can be obtained only from white people, at the cost of the Indians' traditional self-sufficiency, independence, and pride.

We recognize that among Christian groups there are some sincere and brave people who have defended the just cause of Indians at great personal risk. A number of Brazilian priests and bishops have been actively engaged in denouncing and documenting abuses being committed against Indians in their country. For this, some have been tortured and some are still in jail. A few months ago, an assembly of Bolivian bishops publicly accused the U.S. agency CARE of distributing to Latin American Indians foods containing sterilizing agents. It was a priest who helped document the still-ongoing slave traffic in Indians in Paraguay.

We appreciate the support and dedication of those individuals. But we are aware that Christianity is disrespectful of other religions. Throughout the Americas, Catholics and Protestants are in rivalry for Indian "souls". Many Christians can still rationalize and defend the destruction of Indian people and nations as something necessary for our own "greater good".

It should be up to us to determine what is best for us.

If the Christian churches are truly concerned about Indians, they should listen to us, support us, and quit trying to use us as the means for their own misguided salvation.

I believe that what we need is not more missionaries or man-made church buildings.

We are engaged in a very serious struggle. We are fighting for the survival of our families, ourselves, our nations. For this endeavor, we need our lands, our languages, our spiritualism, our traditions, our values.

We want only what always has been ours: our lands, our lives, our freedom. We are not seeking to impose our ways on anyone. But we do not want other ways imposed on us.

If the representatives of Christian churches are truly concerned, there are many ways to help us. One of the greatest needs continues to be financial backing for Indian-run projects.

The organization I work with, INDIGENA, provides valuable documents and educational materials about current Indian conditions from an international perspective of all the Americas. We believe in the importance of this work, the need to share information on our common situations and struggles, to build solidarity and understanding among Indian people throughout the hemisphere, as well as the constant need to educate non-Indians.

We must have money to do this work. But every week is a struggle to obtain funds in order to continue operating, to pay the rent, and for minimal living expenses – a task which itself takes up valuable time away from other activities of vital importance.

We have heard too many hollow promises and lies from Church people and we have spent too many disappointing hours and days in the halls and offices of 475 Riverside Drive [where many national church agencies are housed.] In this so-called "Year of the Indian", the contributions from Christian churches to INDIGENA totalled the insulting sum of $500 – received two weeks ago after one year of promises and phone calls.

I am sorry I could not be with you today. There is much we wanted to share, especially with the Indian people at this meeting. But our project can only afford a small staff with too much to do. At this time, it is our feeling that we cannot lose one week's valuable work for what may amount to yet another series of empty promises.

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[George and Mary Baker are missionaries with the American Indian Crusade, operating from 6802 N. 36th Drive, Phoenix, Arizona 85019.]

[[The American Indian Church in Chicago, like many other missions, trys to apply conservative white thinking to native people as religious doctrine. This editorial appeared recently in the newsletter of the church, addressing its Indian parishioners.]

Many of you have followed our ministry with the Indian people for over 25 years – first in the jungle of Peru, then among the Shoshones in Wyoming, and the past three years here in Phoenix. . .

Less than two weeks ago, our board voted to reassign us to work on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. . . We feel that the Lord is in all this even though, humanly speaking, we feel unable to face this change. The thought of working with these Indians who have rejected the Gospel for so many years, who are, for the most part, following the heathen peyote cult or the sundance religion, or some fanatical cult, overwhelms us.

We know of no harder mission field among the American Indians. But we are confident that He is able and we ask you to fervently pray that Satin will be bound and the captives set free.

In I Corinthians 11:14, we find this: "Does not nature itself teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a shame unto him?" The Lord also tells us that He considers a girl's hair to be her glory. That long hair for a girl is a sign of her submission and that is one of the most beautiful things that another person can observe about her.

God says that a boy who wears long hair has a shame upon him. It literally means that he is dishonoring himself, going so far as to disgrace himself, for he is stepping out of his role as a man and acting submissively as a girl. This is not God's will. There are those who claim Christ had long hair – this certainly cannot be proved.

God makes it very plain that a boy should not wear long hair. If a boy does, he is rebelling against God
God made boys and girls differently. He wants them to be different. Any girl who crosses the line and becomes masculine is dishonoring God. And any boy who crosses the line and becomes feminine by actions or by looks is dishonoring God.

Every girl should have longer hair than the boy she is with.

I didn't say it – God did!

ON BECOMING HUMAN AGAIN.....

AN AKWESASNE NOTES EDITORIAL

Two hundred years after the beginning of the United States of America, native American people are still experiencing new ravages of their lands, resources, and dignity.

In the past, Christian peoples and Christian churches were part and parcel of the rip-offs. Even today, some churches at least partly are active participants in the destruction of native cultures, and profit and benefit from the loss of native rights.

But also, now as in the past, some Christian peoples are speaking out about the behavior of their institutions and fellow parishioners. In some cases, they have been able to mobilize sufficient support and power to cause their churches to withdraw from destructive practices. In other cases, the dialogue within the churches still goes on.

Christians sometimes think that respect for native people will simply result in Christians with braids. They think that if their clergy hold the Pipe while they are preaching that this is true respect – instead, it is derogatory beyond belief. Native people who wish to become Christians should be able to do so in the full sense of the word – not as second-class Christians whose services have become doctored up with native artifacts to make them more palatable. And on the other hand, those who wish to continue with their natural religious practices should not have to compete with Christian churches which have stolen their sacred practices as public relations devices.

This practice is as old as Christianity itself – remember that Paul was even willing to be circumcized to make himself more creditable to the Jews.

The Native American Consultation held with representatives of major churches in October on the Rosebud Reservation was an important event, signaling a new willingness of Christian peoples to learn – and a renewed willingness of native peoples to help Christians deal with their racisms, colonialisms, imperialisms, and other Europeanisms so that the can become good neighbors to the native peoples, and at the same time, become better Christians.

Despite the interest of the Christian churches, the oppression of native peoples continues, however. Leonard Crow Dog, who addressed the Consultation as a free man, is now in a U.S. prison. Robert Burnette, who had extended Rosebud hospitality to the Consultation, had to resort to a federal court petition alleging wide-spread election fraud after he had been forced from his office by BIA police. The FBI is still at Pine Ridge, the grand jury is still churning out indictments, the Lakota Treaty Council is still struggling for recognition – and the churches have not yet been able to respond to deal with these urgent matters. This does not mean the Consultation was not a good thing – it is just to show the immensity of the battle, and how far behind the churches are in engaging in that struggle.

Native people have fought for centuries now to keep America free, a place for future generations to put their feet, a land of human dignity and where the Creation can flourish. They have fought against another way of life and another kind of people who have thought only of themselves, and whose immaturity as human beings causes them to act destructively to other forms of life, and even to their own kind.

Native peoples today still are engaged in that struggle. They have fought with vigor and strength because their minds are not so befuddled with schooling and propaganda and religious teachings that keep them totally pacified, or immobilized.

Christians interested in freedom and keeping the Creation alive operate under a special handicap – their upbringing makes it difficult for them to recognize reality. They have been taught in their civics classes about the ideals of justice and democracy, and cannot seem to recognize facism and dictatorship as it grows around them.

Christians have been educated with racist histories and imperial ideas which are disguised from their own hearts, and even with the best intentions, they often come off as genuine honkeys. Persons whose lives and intentions are filled with hate and death and greed have often used Christian teachings to keep good Christian folk from rising up against them in righteous anger, or have used Christian teachings to gain support to their destructive aims. "Onward Christian Soldiers . . ."

Thus when Christians finally get their heads clear enough that they at least want to help native peoples from being destroyed, they enter that struggle with many handicaps. They believe the promises of officials in government, even when native people tell them of an unbroken line of broken promises. When native people are brutally attacked and pick up arms to defend themselves, church people have often urged the *Indians* to be non-violent, because church people often cannot bring themselves to believe they live under a violent system of government.

At least native people understand they are oppressed – but most church people do not see that they too are oppressed peoples, that their own natural God-given rights have been taken from them, that their natural ways of relating to the earth have been suppressed, that their natural cultures of living together have been destroyed.

Especially, they do not see that oppression of the Indians is simply oppression of the most natural human way of life on this land, and thus is an oppression of all life, including themselves. As a result, they identify problems at Pine Ridge as "Indian oppression" and they worry about the "plight of the Indian".

Instead, they should help human beings living at Pine Ridge to fight off oppression *because it is in their own best interests to do so.*

United States people do not even know of their own "treaty" with their Government – their constitution, in which they, the people, reserve certain rights to themselves. They seem unaware that their own sovereign rights have been tampered with – and yet they can recognize a broken treaty with Indians.

Thus when churches come to the aid of Indians, they join on the Indian side of things, adding a few more bodies to the disadvantage Indians have always known. While supporting Indian struggles for liberation is important, Christian peoples can be far more powerful if they will engage in the struggle within the ranks of white peoples, rather than coming over to the Indian front.

For instance, imagine a native delegation going to Washington to meet with Interior Department officials. Nowadays, if churches decide to support that move, they will send a few people to stand up alongside the Indians, to show that they support that. This only confuses Indians, who then have white people on their side, and white people against them. And the church support will be entirely neutralized by the government, which will simply treat them all like Indians have always been treated.

What would it be like if the church people instead sat with Interior Department officials. After the native case has been presented, the Christians should demand the right to caucus with their own civil servants, should demand that the U.S. reply be in accord with the best Christian principles, and should demand that Christian civil servants behave as Christians are supposed to behave. Christian leaders should give the same spiritual leadership to their own people as is expected that native spiritual leaders give to theirs.

As another example, when Indian people are getting shot at, it's not much use to have a few more Christians behind the lines getting shot at too – they need to be among their own people – FBI and police – seeing to it that these servants of theirs behave well and properly.

Christian people need to see that the reservations aren't where the action is – the action is in their cities and their churches. They need to work with their own people, to mobilize support and concern right there, and to march on Washington, if need be, rather than send another missionary or a ton of dried milk. Just because the term "oppressed native peoples" has been substituted for the "starving heathens" doesn't change the paternalistic liberal thinking behind the milk – or the mission.

While it might be less romantic and noble to organize right within the churches as compared to helping the poor Indians, that is where the action is for all those who claim to be Christian.

The struggle has reached a new phase at this time, however. The oppressor of native people is no longer necessarily a redneck with a gun or a corrupt racist official. People now oppress native people by flicking switches on their air conditioners – and cause the flooding of 4,000 James Bay Cree a thousand miles away. They oppress native people with a lifestyle which demands that peoples all over the world sacrifice the basic necessities to support them in luxury.

Christian people will pull their punches with the unconscious inkling that the things native people demand will cause changes in their basic lives. Iroquois sovereignty could well mean that New York State can no longer treat the Adirondacks Mountains as a rich-man's playground. Support of Northern Cheyennes against the strip mining of their lands could well mean brown-outs of electrical power in Chicago. Recognition of the basic worth of native religions may mean quite a few congregations will have to suffer along with unemployed missionaries returning from the reservations.

Of course, there are also people like U.S. Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, a multi-millionaire, who says that one of the problems in the U.S. is the Judeo-Christian ethic that "makes Americans so generous" to the needy. While Rockefeller says help programs are "all well-meaning, all designed to protect people. But if we destroy the basic system which has given us strength, then we've destroyed our society," he told a gathering of Republican Party contributors. Rockefeller repeated that theme also in Dallas.

However, when Christian people will see that the changes made in their lives with the success of the human struggle being waged by native people *is in their own best interests and the best interests of their own unborn generations,* they can fight as full-fledged warriors and as the human beings they were made to be by the Creator in the beginning of time.

Christians can no longer talk about love and charity – they must learn to make that effective in a continent of exploitation and institutionalized violence. For Christians to regain their credibility among native people, they need to use their Gospels as a liberating force which attacks the roots of injustice, not to sustain their own psyches and souls in times of stress.

Because Christians can also be imperialists – culturally, religiously, and politically – they need to be sure their ways of "helping" native causes do not tie peoples more tightly into the established system which causes their oppression.

Christians also need to understand that the scope of their charity and works has to be extended. No doubt many Christians who function in roles which oppress native peoples and exploit the natural world are "good" people – they contribute generously to the poor box, love their immediate neighbors, and don't spank their kids in the name of non-violence. But in today's technical society, the circle of private life is only a small part of activity, and much greater activity is devoted to collective violence, collective injustice, collective destruction.

Perhaps the least guilty are the ones who pull the triggers or lock the jails – they are only functionaries for collectivities of good Christian people who prepare the atmosphere, condition the minds, furnish the weapons, point out the victims, and send out the gunmen to keep the natives in line. It is whole peoples who commit the big crimes today and who oppress other peoples. Thanks to technology, one can oppress at great distance, and one can oppress by means of a highly-complex network of relations between interests and peoples. Christians who cannot make their institutions behave with the same morality as they demand in their own lives can not expect to have credibility among native people who have been victimized. The only way in which charity can be practiced is by liberation.

All the alibis which churches give as to why they cannot become involved in the struggle of native and other peoples for liberation are primarily to justify the churches' acceptance of the status quo and their refusal to challenge it. To give less than complete involvement in this struggle is to fall short of the demands of their own faith.

THE SIN OF UNCONSCIOUSNESS

[We are grateful to Richard Lundstrom, a Catholic writer whose wife and children are Lakota, for this article. In sending it to AKWESASNE NOTES for publication, he writes: "I'd like to thank you for all the efforts you and your friends are making. I feel the results are gradually – very gradually – having their effect upon some of us white Christians. I do not think we are in a position to heal ourselves. We must come to all of you for that." And we publish this article as part of that often painful process of healing. The Editors]

The Pontifical Commission of Justice and Peace [of the Roman Catholic Church] has recently issued a paper entitled, "The Church and Human Rights". It admits that the Catholic Church has not always properly promoted and defended human rights.

While affirming the basic truth of its traditional dogmas and the rectitude of its current moral stance, the paper admits that in the matter of justice, the Church has erred or sinned.

The Vatican has prudently excluded the paper from any of its traditional papal categories – it is neither solemn definition, nor encyclical, nor bull nor allocution – for with what degree of its infallible authority shall the Church admit that it has erred?

Rather, the admission has come in humility, without pomp, without the thunderous dialectic and theological dust raised by such issues as those concerning the Trinity, the hypostatic union, transubstantiation, and the geometric configurations of the souls of the just.

Nonetheless, the paper is timely, and if it guides us aright, it might lead us to the transformation that John XXIII, Paul VI, and the World Synod of Bishops have urged – but toward which the Catholic Church in the United States has advanced uncertainly, obliquely, if indeed it has advanced at all.

It could hardly be otherwise – a Church convinced of its own righteousness is in no position to move anywhere except in constricted concentric circles around the vision of its own innocence, a vision that has endured despite the fact that the United States has been and is so manifestly unChristian that one scarcely knows where to begin to expand the proposition, and despite the terrible oppressions of the non-white masses of mankind.

Catholics have always consoled ourselves that such sinful conditions exist despite the Church. Now, however, following the example of the Pontifical Commission, we may examine our collective conscience, repent, and, thus freed, turn our faces toward justice and peace and the deep structural transformations needed to attain them.

The greatest obstacle to such salvific awareness of sin is the typical conviction that the Church has not sinned because she cannot sin. The purpose of this article is to suggest that the Church can sin because it has done so, most mortally indeed.

Let the examination begin with Christopher Columbus for in a very real sense, his "Discovery" begins the American experience for European man. Furthermore, each October 12 we uncritically celebrate the man and a nice selection of his deeds supplied, likely as not, by such seekers as truth-before-profit as Exxon, Gulf, and ITT. We shall not celebrate hissins nor those of his Church – but we can, perhaps, become aware of them.

Christopher Columbus, Slave Trader

Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Seas, after a long voyage, hit an island he called San Salvador, and went ashore under a banner emblazoned with the Cross. He found its inhabitants to be merry, loving, generous, hospitable, possessors of a spiritual religion, unacquainted with murder or theft, so gentle that a hundred would flee before a single Spaniard who was but jesting with them. All these things he wrote in his own hand.

Yet with no seeming inconsistence, he attacked these "Indians" and their villages, enslaving as many as his ships could handle on their return voyage.

On his second voyage, a colonizing experience, he set up headquarters on the island he called Hispanola, new Haiti and Santo Domingo. He subjected the inhabitants of the island in a series of attacks featuring horse, cannon, musket, lance, sword, and man-killing dog against defenseless men, women, and children. The Indians were soon demoralized both by the attacks themselves and by their inability to comprehend the unrestrained rapacity of their tormentors.

In order to extract the wealth of the West Indies as quickly as possible, Columbus next instituted the *encomienda* system – a grant of land to one of his own men together with the forced, unpaid, perpetual labor of the Indians living on it. From the Indians not thus enslaved, Columbus exacted a terrible tribute which the most strenuous labor of the strongest Indians could not satisfy. And one's life stood forfeit for non-payment of tribute.

The native people could not tolerate the consequent agony. They resisted. Some fled to the mountains where they starved to death or were hunted down by the man-killing dogs. Others practiced mass infanticide and mass abstinence from sexual relations in order that children should not live in such horror. Many were subjected to unspeakable torment – they were dismembered by horses, they were maimed in every conceivable way, they were roasted upon griddles, they were disembowled, impaled, drowned, hanged, the heads of babes were dashed against rocks. And when an Indian turned upon a Christian and killed him, there went forth an edict – for every Spaniard killed, one hundred Indians shall die.

Thus Hispanola was soon depopulated under Columbus and his immediate successors, including his son, Diego. So slave traders fanned out to the other islands of the Caribbean in search of more slaves and the Indians of these islands underwent the same annihilation.

On Hispanola alone, more than 250,000 Indians perished. In all the West Indies – the Bahamas, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, the Lesser Antilles – more than a million were exterminated. The actions initiated by Columbus meant absolute genocide. As nations, the Indians of the Indies – the Taino, the Arawak, the Carib – have been extinct for four hundred and fifty years.

Columbus emerges from the blood and fire of the charnel house he himself created as a profiteer, a slave owner, a slave trader, and an active practicioner of genocide. He raised the curtain on the most terrible crime in human history – the onslaught of the white Christians against the Indians of the Americas.

And Columbus was above all else a Catholic. He was faithful to his devotions and fervent in them. His chief motive in his voyages, he said, was the spread of the Catholic Faith through the conversion of the natives. He was so conscious of this mission that he developed a cryptographic autograph that emphasized the etymology of *Christopher* – he was a *Christ bearer*. He adopted the brown habit of the Franciscans as a sign of his commitment to poverty and humility. He could gather fifteen hundred Indian slaves for shipment to Spain, and when the assigned ships could hold only five hundred, he could turn the surplus thousand over to his men for an unalleviated orgy of sex and violence, to escape which some Indians ran themselves to death, literally.

Yet Columbus could retire after his nightly prayers, invincible righteous and lose no sleep over these murders. His chief worry was about inadequate profits.

Columbus was no hypocrite.

Would that he had been.

His attitudes, like those of the Europeans who followed him to the New World, were formed in a Catholic culture, and were transmitted to him in the very air he breathed. He inhaled them from home, school, pulpit, books; from parents, monks, priests, nuns, and friends. To understand such attitudes, one might recall the marriage of the Catholic Church to the power of the Roman Empire fashioned by Constantine. And one might remember especially the long centuries of warfare between the Catholic Europeans, who were white, and the followers of Islam, who were not.

Whatever the factors, by the time of Columbus, the Catholic attitude toward pagans was full-blown and case-hardened. The maritime laws of Oleron express it thus: Any Christian may attack any Turk or any other enemy of the Catholic Faith, treating him as if he wede a dog, without fear of penalty.

In 1430, Pope Martin V sanctioned Portuguese incursions into Africa by granting them the exclusive right to commerce, the slave trade, and evangelization there. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V reaffirmed these rights. In 1488, Pope Innocent VIII accepted with joy a gift from his fellow Christian monarchs – one hundred Moorish slaves.

In 1489, this same Pope promulgated a bull giving Portugal permission to enslave Saracens and other pagans and to seize their land. In 1493, Alexander VI in the Bulls *Inter Cetera I* and *II* divided the non-Catholic world between Spain and Portugal, Spain to get the "New World" and Portugal to get Africa and the East, even though he knew these lands were inhabited. For he did "give, grant, and assign forever to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, all singular the aforesaid countries and islands . . . together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions and appurtenances of the same."

"The barbarous nations," the Pope states as his cherished wish, "were to be overthrown and brought to the faith itself." The basic attitude of the Europeans as described by and prescribed by the Popes is quite clear: A Catholic recognizes no rights in non-Catholics. And those who were not Catholic were, with few exceptions, not white either. These pagan, colored peoples could be attacked, dispossessed, enslaved, forcibly converted, killed.

Indeed, Christian nations were under an oft-repeated papal commission to do so.

The Catholic attitude, the attitude shared by Columbus, had these notes: it was arrogant in its profession of absolute power over men of other religions and races; it was racist in its condemnation of non-whites; it was violent in the conquest, conversion and cultural suppression of these peoples; it was greedy in its coveting of the goods of those it oppressed. All these qualities existed in extreme degrees.

One final note – the Christians and their Church were unconscious of any error or sin.

Obviously, Columbus was no moral aberration. He was very much a man of his times. It was an article of his Catholic Faith that these non-white pagans had no rights before a Catholic – hence he respected none. The treatment he meted out to the Indians was sanctioned by Pope and King. In conquering, enslaving, looting and exterminating them, he was about the work of God, he assumed. If there was any fault anywhere, he assumed further, it lay with the Indians.

Columbus is a monstrosity. Supported by his Church, he committed crimes in a spirit of idealistic righteousness. In the name of God, he worked genocide against the people of God.

Throughout the Christian attack on the Indians, the clergy operated with the same attitude as Columbus and their other lay counterparts. They effected little true religious conversion and much psychological destruction. (It might be relevant here to mention that the Indian tribes, almost universally, would have nothing to do with any Christian religion until they had been physically overpowered – hence the priests and later the ministers quickly learned to attach themselves to the big battalions of the Europeans.

The Missions of Conquest

Priests saw to it that the temples and altars of the Indians were razed, that their sacred things were smashed, that their historical records were destroyed. They branded as diabolical the Indians' religious beliefs and practices and gods. They further humiliated the Indians by enslaving them and forcing them to build thousands of churches and monasteries – often on the sites of their own holy places.

The Church and its religious orders grew wealthy from the loot and the slaves. The clergy exacted their daily bread from the sweat of Indian brows. They were in a slightly sublimated manner, one hopes, arrogant, racist, greedy and violent. And they too were totally unconscious of it.

Even the best of priests, men like Toribio de Motolinia and Bartolomeo de las Casas, supported the conquest and did their best to further its aims. (Las Casas would

later change his mind, but he is a lonesome figure.) They sometimes protested the excesses of greed and slaughter, but even here their chief consideration was profit or empire, as when Motolinia warns the Europeans that their depredations in New Spain would soon leave them with no one to serve them.

And the ministers of the Church were always present as the conquest spread, sometimes even commanding the military forces themselves. Catholic priests managed the building of a long line of mission-forts from South Carolina to Florida, thence along the Gulf Coast to Texas, from Texas through New Mexico and Arizona to California and the Pacific Coast, [and along the St. Lawrence River in the North.]

Indians lured into these missions were enslaved. They were not free to leave. They were subjected to a harsh and unrelenting regimen enforced by the priests through severe physical punishment, including death. They were impressed for military service against fellow Indians. Their labor was exploited to support garrisons strategically located to hold off the English, French, Russians, Americans, and unconquered native nations. Their religions, their social relationships, their cultures were suppressed.

These missions were, furthermore, death traps, in which, as at Santa Barbara, tribes had a half-life of thirteen years. Missionaries could demand and get scalps as proof of "their" Indians' successes in Christian wars against other Indians. They could administer severe beatings to Indians they thought disobedient, unobservant, laggard. They could order the death sentence for what they considered more serious offenses (refusal to submit was the most common "crime") and could even order the heads of executed Indians to be displayed around mission territory impaled on pikes as a warning to other Indians. (American semi-heroes like Eusebio Kino and Junipero Serra must face many such charges.)

Naturally, the Indians resisted. In the Carolinas, in Florida, in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, in California and all points to the south, they killed priests, more than three hundred being Franciscans and Jesuits. They killed one hundred and eleven priests in what is now the United States.

The motive for the resistance of native peoples to the priests was explained by Popé, the leader of the 1680 Pueblo revolt in New Mexico, in which the native people put twenty-one priests to death. In addition, they broke up and burned the churches, the images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other saints, the bells, the crosses and everything pertaining to Christianity. Men and women paired in marriage by the priests separated, and took partners they desired. They plunged into the rivers, washing themselves and their clothing in order to remove every vestige of the sacraments.

These things they did, said Popé, because they wished to be free of the labor they performed for the religious and the Spaniards and because they wished to live in their own way.

The general native attitude toward the Church may have been best summarized by the Inca Atahualpa who, when informed by Fray Vicente de Valverde that he must submit to the Europeans because the Pope had given his land and its people to them, replied, "Your Pope must be nuts." Such candor resulted in his early execution – for heresy.

The Unknowingly Immoral

It would be a mistake and a distraction to suggest that these priests were knowingly immoral. With very few exceptions, they were men of integrity and sanctity. Their labors and self-sacrifice were often heroic. Their devotion to Christ was utterly beyond dispute. It is precisely here that a large part of the problem lies: men of great personal probity act as the executors of a corrupt and oppressive institutional structure. It is a tribute to the strength of ideology that it can bring even the best of men to such a tragic state. And the religious ideology is the strongest ideology of all.

What Columbus and the Spaniards did, other European Christians likewise did. The Portuguese, the French, the English, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Russians, the United States – all possessed the same attitudes deriving from the same ideological base. All were arrogant, racist, greedy and violent and few were aware of any sin. Only practical exigencies such as the maximization of profits necessitated regional adjustments in the treatment of the native nations.

Indian populations in the north were not as dense as those in the West Indies, New Spain, and Peru. Still the white Christians did the best they could with the Indians available to them. The Puritan Fathers and Mothers, for example, exterminated the Pequots with ruthless efficiency, thereby setting up a model the United States has repeatedly emulated and with which it is still enamored.

Destructive activities directed against native culture by the Spanish priests have been more than matched by the efforts of the United States churches, including the Catholic Church, to complement military subjugation with the annihilation of Indian societies and the individual Indian personality.

These assults, which have by no means ceased, reached their greatest intensity in the United States, in the Twentieth Century, against the native people of the northern plains. It may be, to quote former BIA

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Commissioner John Collier, "that the world has never witnessed a religious persecution so implacable and so variously implemented."

Samuel Elliot Morison, even though his writings suggest that he may be an approximate academic analogue to activists like the Paxton Boys and General Custer, quotes Bartolomeo de las Casas in calling Columbus' activities on Hispanola irrational, abominable, and intolerable. He might have said the same thing about activities of the Catholic Church. He chose instead to praise the Church. Among historians, as among ordinary mortals, the Church is justified, or excused at least, because her motive was the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic Faith.

However, this motive has caused as much destruction among the native peoples as the adventurer's lust for gold, probably more. Still it is the usual practice of white Christian historians to ignore genocide by concentrating upon the motives of those who are responsible for it. In this regard, many native persons are becoming less and less infatuated with white historians.

For the native Americans are still an oppressed people, living constantly under the awful threat of imminent destruction. Tribes still vanish with alarming regularity, leaving none to mourn their vanished beauty and their thousands of years of creative cooperation with the God of us all.

They are still victims of the same greed, violence, arrogance, and racism that came to their world with Columbus.

Their destruction is not now achieved by gun fire, although the current infestation of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux reservation by federal forces gives eloquent witness to the United States' readiness to do so. Rather the Indians die because those who dominate the nation still lust after Indian land and resources, and will not allow the Indians any power commensurate to the need to protect themselves.

– Kahonhes

They die because the most solemn law of the land in their regard is violated time and time again by the Government of the United States.

They die because their very existence gives the lie to the Bicentennial bombast.

They die because our system of capitalism, like a vampire, can live only on the life-blood of victims.

They die because the Church has failed them.

On the reservations, the Church furthers oppression. It preaches a truncated Christian morality that fosters submission. It preaches a false peace that frustrates the revolution that must occur if the Indian nations are to survive. In its dealings with non-Indians, the Church curries the favor of those who have favors to curry only because Indians are poor.

The Church will not apply its Christian ethic to challenge the structural immorality that impoverishes the Indians. Rather it derives its support from these structures and has all the usual reasons of expediency for not risking its physical survival by standing with the Indians in opposition to their oppression by those structures.

Yet it is with God's people as it was with Christ himself.

One is either with them, or against them.

Indians themselves are trying to make Christians understand. Many speak to the Church through their indifference to it. Others make sterner statements.

In 1971, the Hopi informed Christians that their Church is the greatest threat to their future – ranking ahead of the U.S. Army, Peabody Coal, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In 1973, in both anger and agony, Vine Deloria, Jr., spoke thus to Christians: "To have given an adequate answer at Wounded Knee, the Federal Government would have had to admit that it is and always has been made up of pathological liars. But by definition, white and Christians, the civilized peoples of the world, do not lie.

The Seeds Of Our Redemption

"... On the one hand, the Indian protestors are intent on demonstrating that the white man's religion and his government are hollow, without honor and without substance. Experienced Indians regard this desire to show up the bankruptcy of the white's values as suicidal. Of course, practically every Indian is convinced that the white man is corrupt to the core, but many Indians reject attempts to demonstrate as much because – and they point to Vietnam and the massacres of the 1800s – they believe that the white man will kill his opposition rather than win it over by example or reason with it."

For the Indian, he says, the dilemma is how to call upon a more universal sense of justice than the white Christian world can sustain or fulfill.

In 1975, at their July meeting in New Mexico, members of the American Indian Movement agreed that the institutional church is the greatest enemy of the native Americans.

Such statements contain either the seeds of our redemption, or the obituary of the relevance of the Christian Church. They should elicit response other than indignation if the Church is to carry out the mission of its God.

But for a little moment, following the example of the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace, and as a first step toward the repentance and the transformation that must take place, let Catholics admit it simply: the Holy Mother the Church, and her children, have, most grievously, sinned.

[This article will be available as a "Best of Akwesasne Notes" reprint in February, for a price now estimated to be 50 cents, with quantity discounts available for distribution to discussion groups, for sale on church literature tables, etc. Included in the pamphlet will be two other articles by Richard Lundstrom, including "A Hard Look at American Catholic Folklore," which had been reprinted earlier but which is now out-of-print. Contact: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.]

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES MEET AT TSESHAHT B.C.

Port Alberni, British Columbia

An important historic meeting of native peoples took place nearby here on the TseShaht Reserve on Vancouver Island October 27-31. The First International Conference of Indigenous Peoples brought natives from North and South America, Europe, and the Pacific, and from the conference was born the first world-wide organization of native peoples – The World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

The conference began as an idea of George Manuel of the Shuswap Nation, who is president of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada. He had visited native peoples in many parts of the world, including Scandinavia, New Zealand, and Australia, and had recognized the common problems and shared ways of native peoples everywhere. Manuel and the NIB staff hac worked persistently to organize the conference and to raise the needed funds. The Alberni Residential School was used as meeting site.

Manuel was elected president of the organization for the first two years, and its temporary headquarters will be in Ottawa.

Representatives of many native organizations were at the Congress, ranging from Canada's National Indian Brotherhood, the National Congress of American Indians [USA], Greenlanders Association, Nordic Same Council, Maori Council of New Zealand, Mink'a of Bolivia, Unidad Indigena of Colombia, Centro Indigena of Guatemala, Federation Ecuatoriana de Indios of Ecuador, Asociacion Indigena de la Republic of Argentina, Confederacion Nacional Agraria of Peru.

The new World Council is expected to provide meaningful exchange of information to strengthen voluntary associations, and to reduce the possibility of physical and cultural genocide, to combat racism, to ensure political and social justice, and to establish and strengthen the concept of indigenous and cultural rights among the family of nations of the world.

No delegates came from nations colonized by Brazil or Chile, both of which have been physically wiping out native people. The two countries would not allow any native people to travel out. Only one delegate was able to get out of Colombia. No delegates came from mainland Asia – from either "socialist" or fascist countries – for much the same reasons. Delegates from Africa had been eliminated by definitions of eligibility. Tight security was kept at the conference and establishment press was restricted due to the fear of some Central and South American delegates of retaliation from the colonial governments if their identities or activities were made known.

Songs and dances and power and unity and love were shared in the evening gatherings. There were no slogans or rhetoric about brotherhood – instead there were spontaneous embraces. Some wept, overwhelmed by the power of celebration in each other's songs and beauty all night, every night.

The Greenland Inuit did their dance, and all of us sang their hauntingly-beautiful songs. When someone announced the Maoris were going to do their thing, everyone burst into cheering because the irrepressible Maoris were bursting with such contagious warmth and joy and fun. When someone asked "the lone Hawaiian" to sing a song, a Maori thundered, "He's not alone – we are all Polynesians!"

A Quechua from Peru taught a Sami from Scandinavia to play his flute. Tseshaht and Hesquiat people in their Northwest Coast dance costumes danced with Mayans from Guatemala and Aymaras from Bolivia, and an Aymara joined the singers at the Lakota drum.

– Gayle High Pines/AKWESASNE NOTES photo

Three delegates to Indigenous Peoples Conference study Guatemala issue of AKWESASNE NOTES

At first it seemed that some of the native people from the Americas – especially South America – did not accept the fair-skinned Sami, native people of northern Scandinavia. The idea of "native people" from Europe was completely new to them. But after the Sami had shared their songs, crafts, their sense of beauty and wonder and their gentleness, even those who had at first excluded them were embracing them. Although there was a total language barrier, and despite false notions of colour and race given by the colonists, eventually the songs and spirit of both native groups were shared as one spirit.

The few surviving native nations of Europe have withstood the assault longer than any other native peoples have been required to do. A Sami said their secret was that "our history is not something in the past, something cut off when the present begins. Our history is part of our life. It is always here. Those who have gone before us are not gone – they are always here with us."

Everyone seemed especially grateful to the generosity and sharing of the TseShaht people who served excellent food, and to George [Jorge?] Manuel, for his tireless organizing of the conference.

To carry on the work of the new World Council, a five-person executive council was elected: George Manuel, president, representing North America; Julio Dixon, Guyami Nation from Panama, representing Central America; Clemente Alcon, Aymara from Bolivia, representing South America; Neal Watene, a Maori from New Zealand, representing the Pacific; Alslak Nils Sara of the Federated Same Council representing Europe, including Greenland. It was decided to hold the conference every two years, and efforts will be made to involve more native people from the Pacific and other continents.

Before the delegates had even officially decided to form the organization, Oren Lyons, the highly-respected Six Nations royaner, said: "This is a very powerful organization, one of the most powerful on earth, and it hasn't even been formed yet."

And it was true. Whatever the content of the meetings, workshops, declarations, resolutions, by-laws, the Power of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples will guide it – the same Power that has kept native people surviving so long.

A Colla from Argentina had sung and it was translated: "Here I am with all my brothers, and nothing is missing for me."

The Disease That Afflicts Creation

[To understand the significance of the First International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, an examination of human history is necessary. This analysis is by Gayle High Pine, who covered the event for AKWESASNE NOTES. We are grateful to her for her thoughtful writings. The Editors.]

Until a brief time ago in the existence of human beings, all peoples of the Earth knew and held the instructions of their own nations. Each nation had its own ceremonies, language, music, dress, and so on.

As much as the instructions of different nations differ, they are in truth one instruction, being of one Creation, and certain parts of the instruction are shared by all human beings and all life. Basic to it is the principle that may be named "respect" or "equality" or "freedom". No individual may control another, no nation may force its ways on another, no kind of life may rule another. All beings of the Creation are of equal importance and absolute value. Beings are guided in their true ways by the inner knowledge of their instructions, rather than by outside controls.

It is one instruction guiding all relationships in the Creation, and all relationships of human beings who are one with Creation: the relationships of family members and the political and social and economic structures within native nations are based on this sovereignty of the individual. This is why no native people traditionally practiced voting, the tyranny of the majority – all decisions had to be made by consensus and mutual understanding.

From the sovereignty of the individual is given the sovereignty of the nation. All individuals are guided by one instruction at the center and so live as part of one another. No nation whose sovereignty is thus given by the Creator needs to use force on its people.

If a nation does not respect the freedom and equal importance of all individuals within and out of it, it will not be living in harmony with the Creation, and so will lose its true sovereignty given by the Creator. Its people will not be one. It will have to use force.

It is shown to us that human beings have a very fragile hold on these instructions. Sometimes individuals could forget part of it and hurt others with spirit power or physical force. Sometimes a nation might forget part of it – especially if its life were suddenly disrupted – and fight one another. But whenever a nation began to fall too far away, a sacred messenger came to it and was listened to – or it destroyed itself.

This is what Europeans call "prehistoric time". It is for us the time that all people were as they are to be, when all life was one.

Then somewhere something happened. A cancer began somewhere. Some people forgot their instructions so far that they lost their roots in Creation. Slowly, they began to destroy other natural nations. The people of these nations, lost and without their ancient ways to guide them, became a part of this spreading disease. And so it gathered force.

"Prehistoric times" had begun to end. "History" had begun.

Life was no longer a circle in those places where life had begun – it became a line. The eternal circles were broken. Lines began – and lines have an end.

You may recall school history classes. When did history begin on each continent? European history began maybe somewhere in the Middle East, spreading over Europe as the "uncivilised pagan barbarians" were pushed back farther and farther, and the people's freedom and right to the land was taken away by rulers who fought one another for more and more wealth and political control. Africa, Asia, the Americas and everywhere else pop into history when they are "discovered" by this sickness.

States were developing. They began to call themselves "nations", but not being real nations, they needed repressive governments, artificial laws, police, courts, prisons, military forces, and so forth to keep from falling apart. They did not know they would eventually fall apart anyway.

Today, every area of the Earth is slashed up by boundaries and claimed by these so-called "nations". Those states claiming lands where most people still live in a simple humble way – even if they don't have their original cultures – such as many parts of South and Central America and Africa – are called "back-

ward" or "underdeveloped" "Third World" countries.

This process has continued to spread and destroy the Creation and the native nations that are part of it until today, very few peoples survive who live according to the ways they were given by the Creator. Those native nations who are the last to be "civilized" are being threatened by a single force, a single disease of the spirit.

The disease attacks them by attacking what land they have left, or the Creation upon which they depend – or it attacks them directly. It takes the form of dams, of logging, of stripmining, of pipelines, of superhighways, or of plantations, or of series of small encroachments on their lands. It takes the form of destruction of the animals who share life with them, poisoning of the waters, poisoning of the air, clearing of the forests and jungles. It takes the form of forced "education" in schools, the purpose of which is to train all people to accept authority and fit into the civilised world; of destruction of native languages, of native religions by a religion unrelated to the natural world and which – unlike natural religions, all of which harmonize with one another – must fight with and try to destroy all other religions. It takes the form of forced urbanization, of discrimination, and the continual message that natural, "primitive" people are stupid and inferior; of brutal exploitation of their labour, of poverty and hunger, of government departments to "manage the affairs" of native people; of persecution and government repression and censorship; even of physical extermination of native peoples.

As varied as the forms are that it may take, the destruction of native peoples everywhere is a single process, a single disease that afflicts the Creation. The Creation is one – the natural human beings are one with it, so the same disease that kills off the animals and destroys the waters, air, and land, destroys the native people at the same time.

In general, it has been the policy of the artificial "nations" to treat the native peoples of the land that they claim as belonging to them, a "domestic concern", an "ethnic minority". Many such "nations" try to help the native people become "first-class citizens", part of the "mainstream of national life", or something. They will not allow people to be citizens of the nations the creator gave them. No one is allowed the freedom of such a choice. If possible, they will not even allow these nations to survive. They use words like "equality" as a guise – "Why should a few citizens be kept apart by special hunting rights just because of their ethnic origin?" they ask. They say that "civilising the natives" is for "their own good."

These "nations" have forgotten the basic instruction we are given to guide us in the path of peace and of freedom, and that all beings are of equal value. No being can stomp all over another – whether the stompee is of the same or of a different species. (But, they cry, people have always oppressed other people throughout history!)

The excuse for controlled destruction of the land and its peoples has been that the need of the "civilized majority" (read a few multinational corporations) for "progress" and comfort is greater than the need of a simple natural people for survival – the "6,000 Crees vs. 6,000,000 Quebeckers" mentality.

But any country that does not respect the right to freedom and survival of *all* peoples and all beings is not capable of allowing its own people to live in freedom.

The instructions cannot be destroyed – they are renewed with each rising sun. Human beings know inside themselves that they are meant to be free and to live in peace.

In North America, native people have been seeing that their oppression is the same, regardless of nation. And on other continents, native peoples had been seeing that their oppression was the same. Then some native people began to look beyond.

Thus it was that on the TseShaht reserve occurred one of the most important events in "history" – the re-emergency and re-uniting of indigenous peoples from all over the world. These are the peoples who are the last link of human beings to their original instructions, coming together to discuss how to keep from being destroyed.

[When AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace people were travelling in Mexico en route to Guatemala last winter, they met Dr. Rogelio Perez y Perez, a native physician at Papantla. He very graciously arranged meetings with Totonacans, the Three Hearts people. Dr. Perez is a strong advocate for his people and a strong advocate of tourism. This article, by John Brandi tells of The Cosmic Spin of Mexico's Sacred Pole Flyers.]

— Drama Review

THE FLYING MEN

Today, among the Totonac Indians in the jungle of Veracruz, the *danza del voladór*, the dance of the flying man, is still performed, only slightly altered from its original form centuries back.

But according to oldtimers who have pole-flown for many years before having abandoned the ceremony for reclusive life in the forests with their families, the *danza* today exists only for tourists. "To create a spectacle," they say.

"The flyers you see today do not have purified bodies, for they have lost the meaning in the ritual of preparing themselves for the event. And when they climb the pole to fly, many times they are intoxicated. And they only dizzy themselves descending the ropes in mid-air. No voices are heard by their ears from that sky anymore, no *prayers* are passed down to the people with their landing."

And this is truly evident from the permanent pole fixed in the plaza below – which means in this place they have done away with the preliminaries of consulting sorcerers to accompany young unmarried flyers into the jungle to locate a beautiful tree growing from a spot they once saw in dreams.

Juan Pedro Bautista was one such purified youth, now a middle-aged man, who flew as a *volador* for over three decades. His eyes are brilliant, a smile eternal on his smooth face. His mannerisms are refined, gentle, and his walk is like a flight, melodious and wonderful. The power of his person radiates through his cloth shirt and pantaloons and enters the cavities previously unfilled in your body. I did not ever meet a person like this before! When he broke open papaya to share with us under an arbor in the trees near the steeples of the ruins, it was an offering. And no point was made of it: it came just as natural as a good warm handshake feels to the fingers. And then we sat down by the stream to talk.

"They call me Juan Pedro, but that is not my name. That is only what the *curas* try to make me believe. I am Metango, and my family is Totonaca. *No soy cristiano*, like they would have it. And I hear no voice but the Voice I have heard from the sky, and that same spirit has passed to me all the information I hold within and spread without. I do not go to "church". I am inside of me what they preach to be found in cold stone where men disguised in robes pretend to have altars.

"Why did I fly? Why did I climb the ladder of vine from earth to meet the heavens? I did it because each time I went up and flew back down, I spun with the Voice of all my ancestors and of spirits available on another plane only to those willing to rise above *tierra* to hear their singing mouths. That is why I flew, and continued to do it – because each time I went up, I came down re-inforced. I was filled with the breath of my people. I sang with the gods.

"And when other values began to disintegrate the ritual into affairs of circus and money-making amongst the younger ones, I quit. And to this day, I do not fly, nor even go near the plaza on Corpus Crigti. That fiesta is for drunkards and camera-*gents*. No spirit floats there anymore."

Once the sacred pole was prayed under before it was cut, and danced around before it was removed from its growing place. And then, in a central plaza common to scattered villages, a hole was dug and filled with food and liquor and smokes to make the tree happy and nourished in its new site. Vines were wrapped firmly about the pole, spiraling upward to a thimble set on its top like a wooden gyroscope balanced with *los voladores*.

"Now the flyers come out onto the plaza, five of them drumming and whistling through flutes, one for each of the cardinal points and an "extra" for the "above". The men are birds, *pajaros sagrados*, guardians of the four corners of earth and heaven. Their heads were adorned with pointed caps glued with mirrors and colored ribbons which hang to their backs. They wear red scarves and shirts and trousers with designs and an apron over the pants; the pants tied at the legs so as not to interfere with their movements while climbing the pole or while in flight."

At the pole top, the thimble frame is wound with thick ropes and painted soft reds and blues.

"Nobody can move away from us what we are inside us, and that is why, when one becomes pure through a ritual transmitted in the sacred presence of a sorcerer, and later, through the gods themselves, then he is immovable in his way. Those who never listen to earth and its elements while they are here regress to live again; and again and again until they take time to know the Source contained herein and follow it.

"Follow the road one-way, no turning back. The *camino* takes one to the stars, and the *estrellas* take him farther. Beyond. But one only goes beyond when his road is like water running over a surface where it cannot deposit itself. In other words, if there are holes in our path, places unfilled, then the water shall have to stop and take time to fill them until the level of the road is again reached. And then the *camino* progresses once again.

"So the steps we take in life. And so the footmarks of lives that lead us beyond. Your smiles take me to where you are; mine shall carry you to where I am. We are not apart. *Amigos*, you fly in your tribe with mine. Truly, the points of the world shall close in one day. And like the pole's hole upon which we fly, there shall only be one center.

I do not worry about those who leave the path, because someday the forest shall reroute them back once more; and this may take many journeys, many flights. And those who survive the alternative routes after they have found the one true road, they shall be united sooner than all the rest. On one place, in the skies where the Voice speaks to *el volador* hidden behind the clouds – there alone shall we stand straight as ghosts, happier than ever, together where ALL will someday be. . ."

"Their main dance is the world-wide known performance of the FLYING MEN. You can have a full original performance in Papantla City anytime paying a $30 fee. During the Corpus Christi City Fair you can witness this and four other different Totonacan dances, performed by the Indians, completely free. We suggest you to look for some partners in your Hotel to pay the fee together in order to avoid losing this unique chance of filming the show."

— from a tourism tract distributed by the Municipality of Papantly, Veracruz, Mexico

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[Thanks to The Tribal Messenger for this article.]

THE FUTURE OF INDIANS

ANALYSIS & OPINION by Vine Deloria Jr.

[We are grateful to Vine Deloria, Jr., a Lakota attorney and author who has been constantly engaged in the defense of native rights for the last decade and more, for this analysis and opinion. We agree with what he said in an accompanying letter to AKWESASNE NOTES: "It is time someone said something like this." The Editors.]

For nearly half-a-decade, we have watched a succession of speakers tell us that next year will be the "Year of the Indian." The hopefulness that once sparked a renewal of culture and the desire of many young Indians to force the Government to live up to its promises now seems tarnished. Alcatraz was six years ago in November, Wounded Knee is now nearly two-and-a-half years ago, and the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been over three years. We have all grown older — but damn few of us have grown any wiser.

In 1971, at the National Congress of American Indians [NCAI] convention in Reno, a resolution was proposed which would have created a new coalition of the four major organizations in Indian Affairs — the NCAI, the National Tribal Chairmen's Association [NTCA], the National Indian Youth Council [NIYC] and the American Indian Movement [AIM]. This coalition was to share strategy, discuss problems of mutual concern, and discover ways to get the Federal Government to provide adequate services to all Indians.

At that convention, Robert Robertson, then leaving his post [in Spiro Agnew's vice-presidential office] as director of the National Council of Indian Opportunity [NCIO], very cleverly introduced the idea that the "urban" and "non-federally recognized" Indians were trying to "take over" Indian affairs. Indian politicians seized on that idea as an excuse to further their own ambitions, and Indian affairs has been the scene of incredibly bloodletting ever since.

The rejection or urban Indians and non-federal Indians is only conceivable if one is willing to overlook the oppression suffered by Indians in the course of American history, and if one is further capable of pretending that Indians have no responsibility for each other.

Where Were The Reservation Leaders?

In other words, if Indians act exactly like whites, with their only goal being that of preserving some fancied status for their special interest group and beating out everyone else, then they will have no concern for others not in their group.

But how did urban Indians get into the cities? Well, the Government had a relocation program that took hundreds and hundreds of families away from their reservations into the cities where they were dropped to fend for themselves. In spite of the many accusations made by present reservation leaders against "urban Indians", have the "urban Indians" ever acted tough and called the reservation leaders to account? Have they asked the NCAI and others where they were when families were being shipped off to the cities? Have they ever demanded of the reservation leadership why they did nothing to stop such a program?

The same holds true with the present "non-federally recognized" peoples. Can anyone seriously believe that all Indians who once lived on the Atlantic coast were either killed or moved west? Some of the Indian communities in the East lived in small out-of-the-way places, and the tide of white settlement simply moved right past many of them, leaving them as isolated groups without any contact with either other Indians, or with white society as a whole. It has only been in recent years that some of these communities have come out from their self-imposed isolation to try and establish some kind of relationships with other Indians. In this effort, they have tragically suffered rejection by western Indians who have little or no knowledge of the oppressions of other groups of Indians in American history.

Under the present criteria used by the NCAI to deny rights to eastern Indians, i.e., that they have not preserved their language, culture, etc., there would be a serious reduction in the number of real Indians in the West if such criteria were applied equally to the western Indians.

Just imagine taking those same criteria and applying them on an individual basis to the present crop of Indian leaders. How many really fluently speak their own tribal language, practice their traditional religion, and preserve specific tribal customs? It would be far different if such criteria were applied on an individual basis to the Indians in the BIA, NCAI, or any of the present organizations in Indian affairs. It would be far easier to apply the criteria and make up the short list of those present Indian leaders who *do* meet the criteria.

The present stance of many tribes is that no other groups of Indians should be recognized for federal rights. This attitude raises a serious question which all Indians should consider — what is the cut-off date for determining which tribes are to have federal recognition and which are not? Suppose we used 1900 as the cut-off date. Then we would be missing the Florida Seminoles and Miccosukes, the Papagos, the Mississippi Choctaws, the majority of California and Nevada tribes and communities, the Kalispels, Mille Lacs, Bay Mills, Keweenaw Bay, Stockbridge-Munsee, Flandreau Sioux, the Wisconsin Winnebagos and many other tribes whose reservations have been established in this century.

So what date should be acceptable to use to determine when no more tribes should have federal rights? The fact is that whenever an Indian community has tried to get its rights and status determined, other Indians have come screaming into the picture demanding that they not receive recognition on the theory that new recognitions would reduce the amount of money available to the tribes already receiving federal funds.

The past half-century has demonstrated that as more Indians are given federal services, the need of additional services has become apparent to the people in Congress and more and better programs have been authorized. Whenever the termination mood hits Congress and there is an effort to reduce federal services to Indians, it is never the programs that are terminated — rather communities of Indians are terminated and the bureaucrats keep their jobs and retirement.

So there should never be a question of opening federal services to new groups of Indians. History has shown that as new groups are added, more flexibility is given to the variety and amount of federal services that are available to all Indians. But when there is a determined effort to restrict federal recognition or services, then traditionally all Indian groups have suffered cutbacks in their rights and services.

The Outlook Is Not Bright

So we come to the proposition of what the future of Indians will be and the outlook is not bright. The large cities are now in the final death throes of the old era of expending social services while raising a declining annual revenue from taxes. The impending bankruptcy of New York City (if and when it comes) will trigger a retrenchment in federal spending in areas that are considered non-essential — and if anyone thinks that the New York banks will be denied their money while the Government provides funds for western reservations to squander, they are kidding themselves.

The same goes for the energy crisis, and if we think that the Government won't find a justification for taking over oil, gas, timber and coal deposits under the guise of protecting or developing Indian resources, they don't know much about the last two-hundred years.

At present, we remain in a twilight zone because there is no impending crisis which would require the confiscation of the western reservations or the cutback in Indian programs. But this present era cannot last much longer, no matter how pleasant are the words of the White House to the western Indian political leaders. One cannot balance out less than a million Indians against eight-million New Yorkers and arrive at a satisfactory conclusion for Indians.

In order to survive a cutback in both services and concern like the one looking in the immediate future, Indians will have to have a clearly-defined position of who they are, what they are, what rights they have, and how both tribal governments and individual Indians fit into the larger American picture.

Preventing Wholesale Confiscation

At the present time, there is little indication that our leadership sees this crisis on its horizon. Somehow people believe that the present status quo will continue almost indefinitely because the white man feels guilty over what happened to Indians a century ago. That sympathy will vanish overnight when the pocketbooks of middle-class America are affected. It has vanished before, everytime a crisis of any significance has hit white society. There has rarely been any force that could prevent serious damage to Indians everywhere.

It would seem, therefore, that during these years of relative calm, the task for Indians is something greater than fighting eastern Indians over a piddling handful of educational funds. While the rest of American society makes radical changes in its values and style of life, the major items of importance for Indians would certainly have to be the stabilization of a number of things that have never been satisfactorily resolved during American history.

The first of these things is to achieve a precise definition of the status and political identity of Indian communities whether east, west, or urban. Unless white society can quickly and easily understand the political status and identity of Indian communities, there will be no way to prevent the wholesale confiscation of Indian lands and resources.

White politicians would not dream of taking the resources of a community of whites simply because another community of whites wanted those resources. Yet that confiscation happens everytime a corporation, federal ageocy, or private organization wants something that Indians have. At least partially, this confiscation occurs because there is no clear definition of the legal relationships between the United States and the respective Indian tribes. We are trying to clarify that problem in both the Wounded Knee trials and in the trials which will be held coming out of the Gresham, Wisconsin, occupation. We have drawn a clear line of argument that is based upon the clearest and most traditional doctrines in Indian law: one cannot imply a treaty abrogation, a change of status, or intent of Congress with respect to Indians unless it is clearly, explicitly, and specifically spelled out.

"Who Speaks For The Sioux?"

Again the tragedy of the recent Wounded Knee trials is that the Sioux tribal councils could not see that it was not simply the guilt or innocence of a few activists that was at stake, but the future political existence of the whole Sioux Nation. Whether one agreed with the occupants of Wounded Knee or not, the minute that the 1868 or 1851 treaties became a subject of court decision, it was then the duty of every Sioux Indian to work for the best possible interpretation of those treaties, whether he or she personally agreed with Dick Wilson or with Russell Means on the other issues involved at Wounded Knee.

The decision as to the present status of the 1868 Treaty has not been finally decided, yet in writing his opinion in the *Consolidated Wounded Knee* cases, U.S. District Court Judge Warren Urbom remarked: "Who speaks for the Sioux? Those traditional people who testified here? The Sioux of a different mind who did not testify? The officials elected by the Sioux on the eight reservations?"

In other words, to the white man — but particularly to the federal judges, the failure of the Sioux tribal councils or the United Sioux Tribes to appear and testify that they believed the treaty was a valid and currently enforceable legal doctrine which required certain standards of performance by the United States, was interpreted *as if the tribal governments were against the enforcement of the treaty!*

Rather than discrediting the activists by refusing to appear in Judge Urbom's courtoom at Lincoln, the Sioux tribal councils discredited themselves in the eyes of the federal officials. The same will hold true when the Menominee trials begin, because to the white man, all Indians are the same and no matter how much some of the Indian politicians want to be friends with the white man and his bureaucracy, they are still perceived as "Indians".

Living At The Whim of The Government

The second major problem which must be resolved today is that of land and natural resources. We still have a nebulous title to our lands which goes back to the 1500s and the basis of this title is that because Indians were not Christians, we had no capability of *ever* holding good land titles.

We live on our lands at the whim of the Government under this theory of land tenure. Yet in a practical everyday sense, we are allowed the income and benefits from the lands we live on – whenever it is to the advantage of the Interior Department to allow us those benefits. A check with recent Indian history will show that for many years, the income from timber and other resources was placed in a special account – it was not at the disposal of the tribal governments or the individual Indian families.

There must be a concerted effort to define a new status for Indian lands today, and it must come as a generation of new legal and social concepts. Today we have a multitude of political-economic entities such as the TVA, MVA, Ports of Authority, and other agencies which own lands that are protected under federal and state laws, although held in a quasi-communal tenure. We must use those agencies as models, and get a clear and simple definition from the Congress concerning our lands – and this must be done quickly.

We will seek this improved status only if we accept some measure of responsibility for our mistakes, and not always rely upon the BIA to make decisions for us. As long as the Secretary of Interior and his agents have a discretionary power to affect the use and management of the lands of Indians, there is no way we can preserve lands, waters, and resources. In spite of some of the hardest demands of tribal councils in recent years for a clarification of the status of Indian water rights, we all know the response of Interior officials who know that in the present state of Indian property law, they have the final word on the disposition of resources.

Protection from Harassment by States

Solving just those two things will enable us to project much farther into the future for more difficult problems. One of the most needed things today is a definition of the jurisdictional question. At the present time, it is a jungle of conflicting claims and counter-claims which produces a great deal of heat but hardly any light.

There is a very simply solution to this problem and it follows the line of reasoning we are using in the treaty defense of the Wounded Knee trials. Unless a state or the Federal Government can show a specific grant of jurisdictional powers from the Indian tribe concerned to that government, there is no state or federal jurisdiction that can be exercised against the Indian tribe. Perhaps the best way that we could bring this issue to the fore would be to push for the creation of a special Indian court, and all suits involving an Indian tribe would have to be filed in this court. The Court would have its own staff of experts or consultants who would prepare exhaustive materials on the background of an issue prior to the court attempting to resolve the issue. At the least, such a court would eliminate the constant harassment suits which states are using to plague tribal governments.

Such a court was originally visualized by John Collier in his original draft of the Indian Reorganization Act, but when the tribes in different areas demanded so many changes in the bill and Collier had to compromise, the idea of the court was lost. One of the major weaknesses of the operation of the present IRA statute has been that its enforcement is incomplete without the presence of such a court to guarantee tribal governments relatively hassle-proof protection from state and federal encroachments.

The final reformation that must be made is the complete overhaul of the Indian Claims Commission. The ICC has become an arena in which tribal rights are daily compromised because of the pressing necessity of finishing the large caseload quickly, and because the Indians of too many tribes have lost hope of receiving a just deal from the Government, and are willing to take whatever dollars the Government dangles in front of them to avoid a prolonged conflict within the tribe. Principles have been cast aside by most tribes in the frantic rush for per capita payments from claims settlements. An examination of the series of agreements made by the United States with Indian tribes during the allotment days shows that this tactic has been used ever since the Government discovered that Indians would do anything for a per capita.

We must finally put those days behind us and refuse to sell our birthright for a few dollars. If the government wants to purchase our existing rights, let them damn well earn that right by fighting every step of the way for them.

Tribal Council Meeting at Golf Tournament

Now the future is not bright for Indians because even though possible solutions exist for the remedy of almost all of our problems, we have raised up a class of leaders who are more concerned with golf tournaments than with starvation on their home reservations. They would rather go to Nelson Rockefeller's home for a reception than to the isolated communities in their own homelands to assist their own people. They are more concerned with fighting other Indians than with fighting for the rights of their own people.

Certainly not all of the present leadership is of this ilk. But those who are really concerned about these problems too often sit silently in the audience at Indian conferences, afraid to cause any controvery, and allow the most outrageous things to be advocated in the name of Indians. They always have some excuse – that it's not their job; that there are more important things to do; that if this one wrong is allowed, other wrongs can be corrected. But it is a phenomenon that every Indian knows deep in his heart – that the decent people sit by and allow all manner of wrongs to be perpetrated in their name because they are afraid of being disliked. Sam Cagey once said that when you start getting arrows in the back, you know you're out in front.

Indians have survived over four centuries of oppression, but it is doubtful if we can survive even one generation of plentiful federal dollars being distributed to us with the only stipulation that we reject other Indians in order to get those dollars. My god, just how large a percentage of education funds are going to eastern Indians when one considers that the total federal expenditure on Indians now approaches some half-billion dollars a year, and that the vast majority of those funds goes to neither federal nor non-federal Indians, but to bureaucrats who work to keep both groups off-balance?

When future historians write about Indians in the Twentieth Century, what are they going to say? That for a time, it seemed as if Indian culture and values were returning, but a fierce struggle over political status and a determination of some Indians to deprive other Indians of any recognition at all led to the dispersion of Indian energies and generated such bitterness that when the time came for Indians to confront the major crisis of that century, they had all destroyed each other and there was really no one left to keep things together.

That is our present course, and if we look deeply into ourselves, we know that it is not the right course, for it shames not only our ancestors, but ourselves.

It is time to bring all of the people back together to correct the many evils that confront us, and to march into the future a united and determined people.

Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: A Declaration of Independence *by Vine Deloria, Jr., Delta Book, New York, 1975. $3.95 paperback.*

The Twenty Points, based on tribal sovereignty and treaties, put forth by the caravans of the Trail of Broken Treaties that occupied the Washington, D.C., labyrinths of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972 [and] by the defenders of Wounded Knee II, who proclaimed the rebirth of the "Independent Oglala Nation" in 1973, [raise the question of the position of native nations in North America vis-a-vis the United States of America]. Suggestions of sovereignty were rejected out-of-hand, at the time, by the Nixon Administration.

That may have been the "highest folly" of the Government, writes Vine Deloria, Jr., in his "Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties." For, in the Indian movement, the resulting mood has been one of deepening anger and frustration "shimmering just beneath the surface." It may well erupt once more.

Seeking to go beyond all the rhetoric and drama of the protests, Deloria marshalls a controversial argument for tribal or "small nation" sovereignty. In doing so, he shuns the media images and faddish-ness of the "Indian chic" which he, and many native [people], feel has distorted the meaning of these confrontations. So much of the media's reporting, he has said, arises from the whites' "profound ignorance of the attitudes and beliefs of Indians." It is merely a metamorphisis of the Pity-the-Poor-Indian rhetoric of fashionable guilt that has become fashionable romanticism.

The Indian movements have not simply challenged the violations by the Government of its own "highest laws", its treaties, but are re-examining the European concept of who constitutes a nation, Deloria says. In his view, the Congressional and judicial acts going back to those landmark rulings of Chief Justice John Marshall have failed to face squarely, understand, or recognize that the sovereignty of the independent, or "dependent nations" of the native people is not merely a matter of treaty rights, but is integral to the nature of the nation. And, more than that, this failure has influenced the attitudes toward small nations that have so often led, in foreign policy, to terrible miscalculations.

Since it has been justifiably argued that these tribes are "too small" and "economically weak" to be considered nations, Deloria cites historical precedents and intriguing statistics to counter this belief. The Navajo Nation, for example, is larger than four members of NATO (Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) and five of the founding non-European members of the UN (Lebanon, Haiti, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador.) And the Hopi Nation is larger than Cyprus and Malta combined.

Even the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana is larger than independent and sovereign states such as Barbados. So are forty other tribes. In fact, the population of the American Indians, as a whole, outnumbers that of thirty sovereign states.

If the Government can recognize the sovereignty of Israel – barely one-third the size of the Navajo Nation – then "there is no reason in fact or logic for it to continue to ignore the claims" of the native people, says Deloria. And thus, he suggests a plan for "protectorate" status that is similar, but not the same, as one voiced at the hearings of the Senate subcommittee on Indian Affairs headed by Senator Abourezk.

The implications of his proposal for other national groups is not dealt with in the book. His interest is solely tribal. His attitude might "be called pre-American, rather than anti-American," he says.

And yet, whatever the historic validity and political expediency of Deloria's "Indian Declaration of Independence", one thing is certain: it articulates, in public, thoughts that I have heard in private with increasing frequency among native people. These thoughts, too, may yet become a "significant movement of our time and perhaps of this century," as Deloria believes.

(This review is adapted from one by Stan Steiner, author of The New Indians, *done for* The Washington Post. *We are grateful to him and to that paper for these comments. Vine Deloria has donated royalties for this book to support the work of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law in defending vital native issues.)*

MAPUCHES CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE

"Kila pataka tripantu kuyfingekefuy in, inchin tain mapu. Tifa nituflin, Lakonain kay."

("Three hundred years ago this land was ours. Now we are going to take it back, and we are prepared to die."

— Mapuche song about re-occupying land in Chile in July, 1970

Mapuche means "people of the land." But there is mounting international concern that all is not well with the people of the land called Chile — in fact, there are rumors of thousands of Mapuche deaths since a military government was installed in power in 1973. Mapuche leaders have been imprisoned. Mapuche people are suffering unspeakable poverty.

It was not always that way — once the Mapuche were free, and they had a taste of that freedom for three years under the Allende government of 1970-1973.

There are about 550,000 Mapuches in Chile of a total population of ten million. Most of them — about 400,000 — live in the countryside. In the cities, the rest work at the lowest-paying jobs — the women are maids, the men work at menial jobs in bakeries.

— Raymond Depardon, Gamma/North American Committee on Latin America's Latin America & Empire Report photo

The Mapuches who live in the countryside live in southern Chile on some 3,000 reservations. The reservations are scattered throughout the countryside, located on the hilly, badly-eroded land. The more productive land in the valleys is owned by white Chileans. The total area of the reservations is a little over 2,000 square miles, about the size of the state of Delaware.

The Mapuches are crowded on their land. The average reservation has about 130 persons, which means about 2 acres per Mapuche. When the reservations were first introduced in the late 1800s, there was more land — about ten acres per person. The Mapuche population has remained about the same from the late 1800s until now — what has happened is that white Chileans have systematically stolen land from the reservations.

The Mapuches have a long history of struggle to keep the land. First the Incas invaded from the north in the 1400s. They built stone roads down the long coast of Chile. They brought their well-organized armies to colonize Chile and to collect tribute from its inhabitants, but the Mapuches fought them off. Hidden deep in the densely forested hills of southern Chile, in an area which has an extremely high rainfall in the winter, the Mapuches used their knowledge of the terrain to hold off the invaders.

After the Incas came the Spaniards. They invaded Chile in the mid-1500s, coming down the same roads the Incas had left. The Spanish were looking for gold. They brought horses, swords and guns, weapons which were unknown in Chile and which were superior to native arms.

The Spaniards were successful in defeating the native populations of northern and central Chile, inhabited by nations related to the Mapuches, but who spoke a different dialect. When the Spaniards reached southern Chile, however, the area known then as now as the Frontier was blocked to their advance. The Mapuches developed a system of guerilla warfare.

Alonso de Sotomayor, a Spaniard in Chile, wrote to his King Felipe II in 1585 to complain about the Mapuches: "And one can wander for a year and find nothing but an old woman if they don't want to fight, because the terrain is so difficult and they are so free-moving and we so overburdened with supplies, cattle, and attendants that our movements have no effect. And every day they steal our horses."

Within 25 years of the Spaniards' arrival, the Mapuches began to develop their own cavalry, and within a few more years, they began to use firearms. Their new weapons only added to their main advantage over the Spaniards — their knowledge of the terrain. The Mapuches had no state, no formal structure of government. They lived in small bands linked by family ties, uniting for defense but otherwise remaining separated. They usually lived many miles apart from one another, hunting, fishing, growing crops and eventually moving on to a new settlement area every few years.

The Spaniards were unable to make headway, even when they knew that there was much gold in the land of the Mapuches. In another famous quote, a Spanish Governor of Chile wrote to the King: "The war with the Mapuches has cost more than the conquest of all the rest of America."

Indeed it had. In the first hundred years of the war, 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 mestizo auxiliaries were killed. These were heavy figures for military losses in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Eventually, the Spanish gave up. A series of forts was set up along the edge of Mapuche territory, and an uneasy truce was arranged which lasted until 1884. That year, the white Chileans, now independent of Spain, were finally able to militarily occupy the land of the Mapuches. Thus ended the longest successful native resistance in Latin America.

The occupation accomplished, a reservation system was set up. The Mapuches, used to moving frequently, were told that the land where they were located was theirs, and that they had to stay there. All "unoccupied" land was auctioned off to white Chileans. By 1931, a whole series of laws had been passed and the reservation system was finally complete. The original laws had been modified in order to make it easier for reservations to be broken up. The 1931 law allowed a reservation to be divided if only 1/3 of its inhabitants so desired. Outside landowners frequently tried to bribe a few of the reservation to agree to division. Once this was done, the landowners moved in and bought up individual plots. Usually lawyers were engaged to forge consent papers, and Mapuches were tricked into signing things they did not understand.

Through these methods, by 1970, over 700 of the 3000 Mapuche reservations had been divided. In addition, almost all reservations had been severely reduced in size due to theft by the landlords. Most reservations were only a small percentage of the size they had once been.

That was the situation until 1970. The Mapuches, confined to the worst land, grew wheat and raised sheep. Very little of their produce went to the market — most was for personal consumption. They continued to speak their complex and expressive language, which was unwritten. The Mapuche men learned to speak Spanish because of trade with the merchants or through contact with white Chileans when working as seasonal laborers on the landlords' estates. Few Mapuches could read or write Spanish.

On the reservation, oxen and hand-made wooden plows were used. Fertilizer was used only about half the time, and fields had to be used every other year because of the shortage of land. As a result, yields were low. Most Mapuche families earned under $100 a year. Infant mortality was very high — most Mapuche women had lost one or two children at early ages. Usually death resulted from severe diarrhea caused by intestinal diseases. Diet consisted primarily of bread and mate, as well as vegetable soup. Meat and eggs were rare, cheese and milk almost non-existent.

The Mapuches had gone from a good life to desperate poverty. In some areas, the majority of the young men have no land and no jobs. They are forced to work for the landlord of the big farms, when work is available, usually during harvest. The rest of the year, there are only a few permanent workers on each farm, usually white Chileans. The big farms are often used as summer homes by the landlords, and they are unproductive agriculturally. Often much of the land on the big farms lies fallow, or is used as pasture for a few cattle.

The Mapuches were bitter as they watched this land lie useless while they themselves lived nearby without land and without work.

In September, 1970, the Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende was elected. Allende promised a massive agrarian reform. The idea was to expropriate the often unproductive big farms and turn them into cooperatives which would be much more intensively cultivated and employ many more peasants. The old landowner could be paid compensation by the state.

In southern Chile, the Mapuches represented almost 70% of the rural population, but held only about 20% of the land. Allende proposed that where the big farms had land which had been stolen from a nearby reservation, the government would return such land to the reservation at the time of expropriation. The Mapuches would benefit from land reform because their reservation would get back the stolen land, and because new jobs would be available at the cooperatives.

The agrarian reform of Allende came none too soon for the Mapuches. Already in early 1970, they had begun to take back the stolen land. Hundreds of takeovers occurred in southern Chile in 1970. Before Allende's election, the police frequently attacked and threw Mapuches off land they had reclaimed, but when Allende came into office, he gave orders to the police to leave the Mapuches alone.

Without police répression, land reclaimings became a daily occurrence throughout 1971. They began as fence runnings, when the Mapuches moved the fence-lines at night to regain their stolen land. Whole Mapuche communities, armed with sticks, shovels, wire-cutters and occasionally an old rifle, would take a long line of fence and move it hundreds of yards into the adjacent farm in order to restore the old boundary. Then the Mapuches would remain to guard their turf against the new landlord.

Later, when land reform had started, the Mapuches began to take over whole farms from the landlords, instead of just those portions which had been stolen from the reservations. After all, in the beginning all the land had belonged to the Mapuches. Besides, for many years it had been Mapuche labor which had allowed the landlords to grow wealthy.

Now it was time to finally seek justice. It was difficult for the government to expropriate the farms as fast as the Mapuches were taking them over. The legal process — the shuffling of papers from agency to agency, and the payment by the government to the landowners — took time which the Mapuches did not always have. For example, in Lautaro county of Cautin province, 37 farms were expropriated under the three years of the Allende government. The Mapuche had occupied 16 of them prior to expropriation.

Usually such occupations were done with the help of the workers on the farm. When the Mapuches had occupied the farm, they immediately set up barricades to prevent the landlord from attacking with a goon squad. The landlords used pick-up trucks and high-powered rifles. The peasants defended themselves with whatever weapons they had.

At times, lengthy gun battles ensued. Dozens of Mapuches were wounded or killed in such battles. Usually the police would try to prevent the attacks by landlords, but frequently the landlords would wait several weeks until the police were withdrawn, and then they would attack at night. Sometimes they had friends amongst the police officers who would tell them when a good time to attack might occur.

The Allende government helped the Mapuches by passing legislation which cancelled the old reservation laws, and abolished the old Indian courts. A new agency was set up for the Mapuches, and the law made it much more difficult to divide reservations, and much easier to regain stolen land. The Allende government also carried out publicity campaigns to combat the racism of white Chileans towards the Mapuches. For the first time in history, a Chilean government was actively helping the Mapuches.

During the three years of the Allende government, about 35% of the usable land in the country was expropriated. This meant that most of the biggest farms were taken over. In the south, hundreds of cooperatives were formed which employed tens of thousands of Mapuches. Tractors, seed and fertilizer were made available for the first time at very cheap rates to the reservations. Credit at low interest enabled the Mapuches to purchase five times as many agricultural supplies in 1973 compared to 1969. A Mapuche radio station was created, and Mapuche leaders began to play important roles in government. Greatly increased medical care was provided through the use of rural clinics.

Of course, not all the problems were solved. More than half of the land stolen from the reservations still had not been recovered. Many Mapuches were still without land or work. The new Mapuche agency was understaffed and could not investigate all claims.

But the government programs, abstract on paper, did mean better lives in many concrete ways for the Mapuches. Tractors were used, eliminating weeks of hard work with oxen. Fertilizer meant that wheat yields sometimes doubled, meaning that families had enough bread and wheat left over to sell on the market. Kerosene lanterns could be bought instead of candles. Fruit could be bought in the wintertime, and children could eat meat and eggs and wear shoes.

These tangible benefits meant that the Mapuches supported the Allende government. The landlords, among other vested interests, opposed it. Stripped of much of their wealth, the landlords joined with the big businessmen in the cities in opposition to Allende.

On September 11, 1973, elements of the Chilean armed forces overthrew the democratically-elected government of Salvador Allende, with the support and instigation of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The president and many others were killed immediately, and the democracy was replaced with a Nazi-like military dictatorship.

Since the coup, most information has been focused upon the tremendous repression of professionals, intellectuals, workers and politicians, but almost nothing has been said on the fate of the Mapuches. Repression against them has been severe, not only on their homelands, but in the capital city where thousands of them have migrated since the turn of the century.

An intense persecution began of all those who had supported Allende. The military gave the expropriated farms back to the landlords. Reservation land which had been recovered was returned to the landlords.

Mass killings of random groups of Mapuches took place, often on the basis of unsubstantiated rumors that the Mapuches in a given area were hiding arms. Near Pitrufquen, a town in southern Chile, dozens of bodies of murdered Mapuches floated down the river while observers in the town saw military trucks loaded with dead bodies coming back from the countryside.

The bodies were Mapuches from the reservation in the area of Puraquina where they had been massacred on the basis of unfounded reports of armed resistance.

The same scene was repeated throughout the south of Chile. In Temuco, capital of Cautin province, doctors reported that dozens of dead Mapuches arrived daily at the morgue, riddled with bullets.

Dr. Natacha Carrion, a doctor who with her husband, Eduardo Gonzalez, tried to bring health care to the Mapuches, has been in prison. Her husband was summarily executed.

Despite the tortures, imprisonments and atrocities, the U.S. has sent the Peace Corps back to Chile. Eight years ago it had been kicked out of Chile, accused of CIA entanglements.

Back in Lautaro county, the landlords moved quickly to regain almost all of the 37 farms which had been expropriated under Allende. After the initial repression, an even more sinister attack began – no land, no work, no credit.

In the last two years, the Mapuches have returned to an even-worse poverty than they suffered before Allende was elected. The policies of the military dictatorship are translated into sickness and gradual starvation for the Mapuches.

The military junta which took over Chile in 1973 has murdered a total of as many as 30,000 Chileans. No one knows how many of these were Mapuches, but it is safe to assume that the Mapuches suffered an even more brutal repression than did the population as a whole.

U.S. President Gerald Ford has justified the CIA's involvement in Chile as being "in the best interest of the people of Chile and certainly in our best interest.

In November, 1974, the United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution condemning the junta, and calling for the release of political prisoners and the restoration of human rights. The United States Government abstained. Since then, the fascist generals, with U.S. support, have continued to defy this high expression of world opinion. The UN Human Rights Commission has been refused the right to enter Chile.

Many resisted the best they could. In Lautaro county, for example, trees were cut down to block the roads on the day of the military coup to keep the army out of the countryside. Later, when the trees were cleared, the Mapuches would light fires at night on the hillsides, causing the military to investigate. Upon arrival, the soldiers found nothing, but soon another fire was lit up some distance away.

Many soldiers in southern Chile were themselves Mapuches, drafted into the Army. Forced to commit atrocities, groups of soldiers from the regiments in Temuco and Valdivia chose to desert. They stole trucks and arms, and drove away to try to link up with the resistance.

The military especially looked for Mapuche leaders. Rosendo Huenumann, for example, was a Mapuche who was a member of the Chilean Communist Party. Huenumann was a popular figure, well-known for his work with rural trade unions and for his radio program in Mapuche language. In March, 1973, he was elected to the Chilean Congress.

Huenumann was captured by the military in September, 1973, taken to the Tucapel Regiment in Temuco, and summarily executed. Felix's brother, Moises Huentelaf, had been killed in October, 1971, during an unsuccessful takeover of a farm. The landlord had attacked with rifles, and Moises was shot. Felix was jailed for 7 months for his role in the takeover – under Allende the courts were still controlled by the landlords.

After getting out of prison, Felix Huentelaf quickly became a leader of the Revolutionary Peasant Movement, an organization which led many of the land takeovers throughout southern Chile. Felix Huentelaf was also elected in 1973 to be vice-president of the Provincial Peasant Council of Cautin, a new organization which represented all the peasants of Cautin province.

A third Mapuche leader who has suffered the repression of the junta is Alejandro Manque, arrested in the town of Lautaro in April, 1974. Manque was president of the Revolutionary Peasant Movement, and was also a leader of the Provincial Peasant Council. Well-known by the Mapuches throughout the south, Manque was a political leader who knew how to explain things clearly to his fellow peasants. He frequently left the towns and political meetings to stay in the countryside for weeks at a time, getting to know the problems of each area. The military has tortured him brutally to try to force him to give information about other peasant leaders.

Despite this repression, the Mapuches are continuing their century-old struggle to regain their land.

[We who are outside of Chile can help them by protesting the treatment of the Mapuches. One way to do this is to write letters to General Pinochet, head of the Chilean regime, demanding the freedom of Alejandro Manque and all Mapuche political prisoners. Such letters have often been effective, and many prisoners in Chile are alive today because of such international support. The address is Gen. Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile. Send a copy to International Indian Treaty Council, 777 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, which is preparing a report on the Mapuche situation at the request of an agency of the United Nations. The Editors.]

[Thanks to Kyle Steenland and friends for the information used here.]

[Further information on the general repression in Chile is available from the National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010 telephone (212) 989-0085. The Chilean Embassy is located at 1730 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.]

"NETUAIN MAPU"

"WE SHALL RECOVER THE LAND"

THE MAPUCHES OF CHILE

AFTER 300 YEARS SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE, THEIR TERRITORY WAS OCCUPIED BY THE SPANISH IN 1884. UNDER THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT (1970-73) THEY BEGAN TO REGAIN THEIR LAND & DIGNITY. SINCE 1973, THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP GAVE THE LAND BACK TO THE LANDLORDS WHILE JAILING, TORTURING & MURDERING 1000'S OF MAPUCHES.

Alejandro Manque
Mapuche Leader
Jailed & Tortured
Early 1974

Felix Huentelaf
Mapuche Leader
Executed Sept. 1973

Write to Gen. Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile to demand the release of Alejandro Manque & all Mapuche prisoners.

An enlargement of this poster is available from AKWESASNE NOTES for bulletin boards and public places at 50 cents each, 3 for $1, or 20 for $5. In each order, enclose 25 cents toward cost of the mailing tube and postage.

THE DENE DECLARATION

Fort Simpson, Dene Nation – At a joint General Assembly held in July of this year, delegates representing the 18,000 Indian and Metis people of the Northwest Territories approved and decided to publish the Dene Declaration of Rights.

"Dene" means "the people". It is the collective word used by the Athapaskan-speaking indigenous peoples in what Canada calls the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. It is how the Chipweyan, Slave, Yellowknives, Dog Rib, Hare, Kutchin, and Loucheux refer to themselves, just as their southern relatives, the Navaho, call themselves "Dine".

The Dene are a nation, a people who have lived together in unity for centuries. On their lands, they have lived from hunting, fishing, and trapping.

Increasing numbers of white settlers have moved into their territory over the past two centuries, bringing with them many aspects of western culture and technology. Although the life-style of the Dene has changed somewhat as a result of this intrusion, they still retain the core of their traditional values. They do not live on reserves, nor have they been completely assimilated into a commercial urban society. They continue to make intensive use of their land and its traditional sources of sustenance.

According to Canadian statistics, the Northwest Territories has natives as a majority of its population. Out of 42,000 inhabitants, 18,000 are Dene, 12,500 are Inuit, and only about 10,500 are non-native. But it is that minority of non-natives who have taken control of Dene nation lands.

In the face of increasing encroachment on their land, the Dene found themselves voiceless and powerless to stop the invasion and exploitation. In the late 1960s, it became apparent that they would have to organize to protect their rights and the land upon which their survival depends. In the early 1970s, the Indian Brotherhood and Metis and Non-Status Native Association were formed for the purpose of protecting native rights.

At the first Joint General Assembly of the two groups in July, 1974, they decided to reject the Federal Government's distinction between "status Indians" and non-status and Metis people, and to negotiate for a joint land settlement for all Dene.

At that initial meeting, the Dene stated their position that they had never relinquished their right to the land, and that they wished their rights as original owners and inhabitants of the land to be formally recognized before any further development was allowed to proceed.

The Federal Government rejected this position, persisting in its ignoring of the vital fact that the Dene as a people are inseparable from their land. Canada has always regarded land as a commodity to be bought and sold, and is approaching the land settlement as if it were negotiating for real estate from a private investor. Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, has repeatedly stated that he has a mandate from the Canadian Cabinet allowing him to negotiate a settlement only on the basis of extinguishing aboriginal title in exchange for cash.

Following publication of the Dene Declaration, James WahShee, president of the Indian Brotherhood, wrote Buchanan explaining the intent of the proclamation. "We see this Declaration as constituting a very important statement with respect to our land claim." He said the land claim was not only a statement of property right, but "a statement of political rights," held as a "deeply felt sentiment."

Noting that Buchanan had responded testily to the original announcement, comparing the Indian Brotherhood with Quebec separatists, WahShee made it clear that he was speaking about "self-determination within Canada" and hoped that the document wouldn't be rejected as the result of a "misunderstanding".

Although on September 1, the Dene Land Claims Committee met with Buchanan to again clarify this intent, Buchanan again made an official statement on September 10 calling the Declaration a separatist document. Buchanan said paternalistically, "Various statements and positions taken by the native leaders of the Northwest Territories have caused me an increased concern over the past months. My concern has risen further since the circulation of the Dene Manifesto and the publication of the Dene Declaration. . . So as not to allow these statements to stand unanswered, or confuse the people of the North and of Canada that my silence to date has meant agreement, I wish to respond publicly."

Buchanan said "unreasonable demands which cannot be met will continue a feeling of dissatisfaction." He said that as a minister of the Government of Canada, he took offense to the statement that "what we Dene are struggling for is recognition of the Dene Nation by the Government and the people of the world." He said he rejected that statement.

"The native people of the North are citizens of Canada. They are and will be represented in the world community by the Canadian Government," he said in his best colonial manner. He said Canada considered the NWT "Indian title has been extinguished, and that there has never been adequate compensation for its loss." He said Canada was willing to pay up.

"The Government of Canada will not accept a declaration of independence from any group within its borders," he said, the same thing that Great Britain said in 1776. He said that Canada would "foster the greatest possible diversity of its cultural groups" and it did not wish to see native people "lose their particular culture and way of life." But, Buchanan warned, "all cultural groups must be willing to participate in the Canadian society and system of Government."

The following week in Toronto, WahShee replied. He said he had no alternative but "to conclude that the Minister is indulging in crude, deliberate misrepresentation of the position of the Dene. Quite apart from the questionable future of negotiations with this man, the damage done to the faith the Dene have expressed in legitimate process for achieving their aims will be hard to repair."

A Threat To Canadian Sovereignty?

Buchanan was not the only one to reject the Declaration as a "sseparatist document". When Yellowknife's weekly paper, *News of the North*, published the Declaration, it did so under the title of "Dene Manifesto", apparently in an attempt to equate it with the Communist Manifesto and thereby discredit it.

David Nickerson, a white resident of Yellowknife and a member of the NWT Territorial Council (a governmental body with advisory powers) denounced the Dene Nation concept as "outlandish and unworkable". He refered to the Dene Nation as the "Dene Socialist Republic" and insisted that the Dene were promoting an aprtheid policy.

David Searly, another Territorial Councillor, sees the land-claims position of Dene and Inuit peoples of the NWT as "a threat to both Canadian sovereignty and democracy itself." He is concerned that the resolution of native land claims will pose an obstacle to the granting of provincial status to the territories, now governed from Ottawa.

White residents are anxious for provincial status so they can move into positions of power in the territory now held by Ottawa bureaucrats.

Such vitrolic opposition comes only from fear of loss of vested interests gained at native expense – the Dene people are only asking for the freedom to decide what kind of development is to occur on their own land, and to gain some measure of control over their cultural, social, and economic destiny.

A Dene spokesman said, "The native people fear the threat of becoming engulfed and destroyed by the forces of 'development' as has happened elsewhere. They fear for their land, their culture, and their children." The Dene point out that they, more than industry and government, have such a vested interest in the land they would not permit it to be wantonly destroyed. What is development for other people isn't necessarily for them – only they can determine what progressive steps they will take.

True Dene development would build on the past, would strengthen traditional pursuits, and would build on traditional skills. Such development would fit the Dene way of doing things, rather that a southern company's way. They say development must be an on-going self-reinforcing process which involves the whole community and which reinforces the traditional values of a sharing egalitarina society.

The Dene feel their own survival cannot happen unless they have certain safeguards. They wish to govern themselves through institutions of their own choice, as autonomous regions within Canada. They want control over their land and her development. And that means control over their resources as an economic base to making their political will effective.

The hope of the Dene is that more people will realize they are a nation, and will support their position. "We are asking only what Canada supports elsewhere in the world," a statement in the Indian Brotherhood paper said. "Canada claims to support the rights of nations in Africa, for example, to self-determination. What the Dene Declaration does is to challenge the government of Canada to practice what it preaches at home."

With the Declaration out front, the Dene are now talking together about the next big questions. How will they govern themselves? How will they keep their nation strong and whole and still recognize differences in regions, peoples, and communities? What kind of education would they give their children? What kind of development do they want on their lands?

The Indian Brotherhood has promised more statements will be issued as these questions are answered tentatively, and then "we will change and add to these statements as we gain more experience." It said the Dene Nation was not a return to the past, but the "building of our own society . . . to meet the new needs of all our people."

DENE DECLARATION – A STATEMENT OF RIGHTS

We, the Dene of the Northwest Territories, insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation.

Our struggle is for the recognition of the Dene Nation by the Government and people of Canada and the peoples and governments of the world.

As once Europe was the exclusive homeland of the European peoples, Africa the exclusive homeland of the African peoples, the New World, North and South America, was the exclusive homeland of Aboriginal Peoples, the Amerindian and the Inuit.

The New World, like other parts of the world, has suffered the experience of colonialism and imperialism. Other peoples have occupied the land – often with force – and foreign governments have imposed themselves on our people. Ancient civilizations and ways of life have been destroyed.

Colonialism and imperialism is now dead or dying. Recent years have witnessed the birth of new nations or rebirth of old nations out of the ashes of colonialism.

As Europe is the place where you will find European countries with European governments for European peoples, now also you will find in Africa and Asia the existence of African and Asian countries with African and Asian governments for the African and Asian peoples.

The African and Asian peoples – the peoples of the Third World – have fought for and won the right to self-determination, the right to recognition as distinct peoples and the recognition of themselves as nations.

But in the New World, the native peoples have not fared so well. Even in countries in South America where the native peoples are the vast majority of the population, *there is not one country which has an Amerindian government for the Amerindian peoples.*

Nowhere in the New World have the native peoples won the right to self-determination and the rights to recognition by the world as a distinct people and as Nations.

While the native people of Canada are a minority in their homeland, the native people of the Northwest Territories, the Dene and the Inuit, are a majority of the population of the Northwest Territories.

The Dene find themselves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But the Government of the NWT is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene – these were imposed on the Dene.

What we the Dene are struggling for is the recognition of the Dene Nation by the governments and peoples of the world.

And while there are realities we are forced to submit to, such as the existence of a country called Canada, we insist on the right to self-determination as a distinct people and the recognition of the Dene Nation.

We, the Dene People, are part of the Fourth World. And as the peoples and Nations of the world have come to recognize the existence and rights of those peoples who make up the Third World, the day must come and will come when the nations of the Fourth World will come to be recognized and respected. The challenge to the Dene and the world is to find the way for the recognition of the Dene Nation.

Our plea to the world is to help is in our struggle to find a place in the world community where we can exercise our right to self-determination as a distinct people and as a nation.

What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada. This is what we mean when we call for a just land settlement for the Dene Nation.

[A poster-sized text of the Dene Declaration is available from AKWESASNE NOTES for 50 cents, plus 25 cents with each order for mailing tube and handling. Proceeds from the sale go to the Dene Nation. Contact: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.]

Support For Ganienkeh

Ganienkeh, Adirondacks Mountains – Things have been settling down for the People of Ganienkeh, the new Mohawk settlement near Eagle Bay, New York. The crops have been harvested. Local public opinion seems to be swinging over to favor the settlement. And a Federal Appeals Court has reserved judgment as to whether a U.S. District Court has the jurisdiction to decide the legality of the settlement within the U.S. legal system.

The settlement began May 13, 1974. Now, seventeen months later, as more U.S. citizens recognize the obligations their country has to respect the terms of its treaties, support has increased. A network of support groups is spreading throughout the Eastern states.

The settlement is on state land, and is operated on the principles of the Great Law of Peace of the People of the Longhouse. It does not have electricity or running water, and it is moving rapidly along on a five-year program of 100% self-sufficiency. Although primarily Mohawk, it has been aided by native peoples of many nations.

Negotiations continue with the State of New York to find ways for the state to accommodate itself to the new permanent settlement. But at the same time, the state has appealed the contention of the U.S. District Court in Syracuse that it lacks jurisdiction. Should the state win its appeal, likely that District Court would be ordered to hear the case and render a decision. Then there would be the possibilities of appeals of that finding.

The Ganienkeh people have seen the legal maneuvering as a useless exercise, however. They say they know they are entitled to possess the land as an independent nation, and that any dispute over ownership of the land they occupy is an international matter for a larger body, such as a UN committee or the World Court to decide.

The settlement remains heavily-guarded from outside intrusion. Visitors are met at the front gate to determine if they can enter. Hunters and snowmobilers who intrude on the land are told to leave and escorted out.

To prevent incidents, New York State troopers maintain a hot-line with the encampment. Intruders who are difficult can then be dealt with by their own police rather than to risk an Indian-white battle escalating. Recently, a state helicopter planting fish touched down on the lake near the camp. A call on the hot-line brought prompt action – the helicopter left and an apology was issued.

Ganienkeh is working toward self-sufficiency. These young gardeners show some of the corn grown for the winter food supply. Because soil at Ganienkeh is poor, other Indian lands were used for planting.

Only one group of resort owners calling themselves "Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks [COPCA] continue to vie for the attention of the state media, alleging that Ganienkeh is variously a Communist plot, an AIM guerilla-training camp, a refuge for criminals.

However, during elections this autumn, incumbent district attorney Henry Blumberg, who had been accused of being soft on the native group since he had not caused them to be evicted by strength of arms, won another term in office by a 2-to-1 margin over Martin Weinstein, who claimed that the settlement was "plain and simple criminality." "Whatever force necessary should be used to bring them to justice, Weinstein had said as his campaign platform.

Blumberg won his clear majority by pointing out that the Ganienkeh people "have treaties going back several centuries," and that Weinstein's demand was an "irresponsible suggestion."

Ganienkeh people, in a press release, point out that the United States "helped the United Nations restore 74 native nations. These nations regained lost human rights, land, governments, laws, and now decide their own destiny. The only national groups still denied these human rights are the native Americans. Isn't it time that the U.S., with the help of the UN, render the same justice to American Indians? They have the right not to be governed or ruled by a foreign people."

Support for Ganienkeh can be sent to:
Ganienkeh
Box 208
via Eagle Bay, New York 13331
telephone (315) 357-6221

GANIENKEH
"We have a little territory left – just enough to live and die on. Don't you think your governments ought to be ashamed to take that away from us by pretending it is part of theirs."
Deskaheh

A 17x22 enlargement of this poster on heavy paper, in color, is available from AKWESASNE NOTES for 50 cents each, or 3 for $1, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube and handling. Proceeds from this poster will support Ganienkeh.

CONTACTS

A new permanent West Indian exhibition has opened at the Museum of the American Indian representing the native culture of the Caribbean from 150 A.D. to 1500. A diorama of a village shows daily life. Food preparation displays and carvings are featured. Admission free 1-5 p.m. Tuesday through Sunday. Contact: William Stiles, MAI, Broadway at 155th St., New York, N.Y. 10032 or phone (212) 283-2420.

Persons interested in the viewpoint of the Irish Republican Army's struggle can obtain a $1 pamphlet, "Inside the IRA", consisting of interviews with Cathal Goulding, IRA chief-of-staff. Contact: POBox 14602, Philadelphia, Pa. 19134. Recon.

Antioch School of Law is actively recruiting native American students for next September. The school has its own law firm at the core of its academic program, emphasizing a clinical approach to the study of law, and serving poor people at the same time as gaining a degree. Also offered is a 14-month legal technician program training attorney's assistants — this course does not require a college degree. Contact: Admissions Office, 1624 Crescent Place NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 or telephone (202) 265-9500.

Inuit Tapirisat, the Metis Association and Indian Brotherhood of the NWT, and the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples will be sponsoring a Northern Native Land Claims week from March 7 to 13, 1976. Meetings, rallies, film showings, and other doings will be held in every major Canadian city. Support groups from U.S. are also invited to join in. For further information, contact: Gordon Lee, CASNP, 251 Laurier W., †904, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J6.

A large unique drum just made for the Penobscot Nation was stolen November 22 — it is 24 inches across, 18 inches deep, with a rawhide top of calfskin with fur around the sides and bottom. There is no other drum like it. If anyone has seen it, please contact: Stan Neptune, 111 Oak Hill, Indian Island, Penobscot Nation, Maine 04468.

The Institute of American Indian Arts has just been chartered to operate a middle college program too — it will include grades 11 and 12, then a two-year junior college program offering an Associate of Fine Arts Degree. Tuition, board and room and some supplies are free. Contact: Registrar, Institute of American Indian Arts, Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501 or phone (505) 988-6297.

The Peoples College of Law is seeking socially-concerned native people to enter as spring or fall, 1976, students. There are a limited number of tuition-free slots for the fall of 1976 only. The program is four years of part-time politically-progressive curriculum leading to Dr. of Jurisprudence degree and eligibility for the California Bar Exam. Two years of college credit or an equivalency exam are required. Tuition is $350 per semester unless waived under the tuition-free basis. Applications are now being accepted. Contact: People's College of Law Recruitment Committee, 2228 West Seventh St., Los Angeles, California 90057 or telephone Gilbert Varela at (213) 388-8171.

Native education leaders who work and live in rural communities can participate in an education leadership training program under a grant from the Ford Foundation. Studies include workshops, seminars, research, and travel. Training may be between January, 1976, and June. Community workers, paraprofessionals, school board members, tribal education personnel can participate. Contact immediately at: National Indian Training and Research Center, 2121 South Mill Avenue, Suite 204 Tempe, Arizona 85282 or contact Francis McKinley at (602) 967-9484.

The musical group of Daniel Valdez of El Centro Campesino Cultural puts on highly entertaining, educational, energy-charging concerts. While Chicano groups in particular will gain from sponsoring a concert, Indian groups, community groups, and churches would learn a great deal too. Contact: Daniel Valdez, El Teatro Camposino, San Juan Bautista, California.

A "planner & grantsman" is needed with experience in planning and proposal writing. Contact: Ron Johnson, National Indian Activities Association, 619 Second Ave †607, Seattle, Washington 98104.

Native Americans of metropolitan New York and New Jersey in need of employment or vocational training are invited to discuss their situation with a CETA program counselor. Contact: Ted Thompson, American Indian Community House, 10 East 38th St., New York, N.Y. 10016 or call (212) 532-4897.

Family physicians, health planners and a financial director are needed by the Indian Community Clinic on the Puyallup Reservation, a newly-established agency. Contact: ICC, 2002 East 28th St., Tacoma, Washington 98404, or call (206) 572-3733.

An executive director is needed by the Boston Indian Council, Inc. with experience in administering federal programs and community services. Contact Bill Rice, BIC, 105 South Huntington Ave., Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts 02130.

Native American crafts people, artists, musicians, and dancers are wanted for the Great American Indian Festival to be held June 20-26 at Alexandria Bay, New York. A limited number of outdoor spaces are still available. No fees or rentals, vendors keep all proceeds, and performers will be paid. A stage and sound system will be available. No commercial or machine-made items permitted. The goal is to provide a marketplace for native American crafts, and to foster appreciation of Native American culture and traditions. Write Henry C. Robbins, 10 Boudinot St., Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

An Information System for Native American Media has been developed by the National Indian Education Association which can help to find materials, develop library collections, locate research materials, and design relevant curricula. Contact: ISNAM, NIEA, 3036 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414 or telephone (612) 378-0482.

A legal research director is needed immediately by the University of Saskatchewan Native Law Center. Contact Roger Carter, Professor of Law, U of S, Saskatoon, Canada S7N 0W0 or call (306) 343-2751.

Native American poets and artists are being sought to submit material for an anthology by Indochina veterans on turning against the war, the struggle for survival, sanity and dignity — and unity with others working for liberation since returning home. Contact: East River Anthology, 208 Dean St., Brooklyn, New York 11217.

Have you checked out what books children are reading these days? A New York group provides a lot of insight and criteria into evaluating and encouraging non-racist, non-sexist, reading. They have a quarterly bulletin which raises provocative questions. Contact: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.

The only natural resource program in the U.S. specifically designed for native American students is engaged in a major drive to recruit and educate Indians in the professional career fields of forestry, fisheries, oceanography, natural re-source planning, and management of range, watershed and wildlife. Tribal councils are being urged to send young people for professional training in management of tribal resources. Contact: C.J. Bryan, Director, Native American Career Education in Natural Resources, Humboldt State University, Arcata, California 95521 or call (707) 826-4994.

An executive director is needed by the National Indian Education Association. Contact: Jon B. Tiger, 3036 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414 or telephone (612) 378-0482.

Spectrum has a special issue of mythopoeic experience by Anglo, Chicano, and native poets. It is available for $1.50 (ask for no. 2 vol. 17) from Jean-Marie Eklund, POBox 14800, UCSB, Santa Barbara, California 93106.

Free scholarships are being offered to native students for a four year program — the last two years of high school and the first two of college. Students interested in next fall admission or midterm transfer should contact: Office of the Registrar, Institute of American Indian Arts, 1300 Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501 or phone (505) 988-6297.

The prestigous Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition will be held March 17-21, 1976, with categories including painting, sculpture, crafts, student work, and creative writing. For complete rules and regulations and further information, contact: Scottsdale National Indian Arts Council, Inc., PO Box 381, Scottsdale, Arizona 85252 or contact (602) 946-4591.

The people of Frank's Landing, that fortress of strength in the long fishing struggles in the Pacific Northwest, suffered severe losses in the devastating floods which hit the Pacific Northwest in December. Thousands of people turned out to help them stave off the river, but still there was some loss. Friends of Frank's Landing should contact them immediately to see how they can help. Write: Survival of American Indians Association, POBox 719, Tacoma, Washington 98401, or telephone Centro de la Raza, Roberto Maestras (206) 329-5442.

Native groups looking for an entertaining musician with a good message might want to contact guitarist/singer Dave Baker, who is now available for bookings. He has performed with major groups, in coffee-houses, and in concert. Contact: Dave Baker, c/o Terry Black Owl, 1674 Shaw Ave., Green Bay, Wisconsin 54303 or telephone (414) 499-8445.

Indian students at Harvard-Radcliffe (above are Richard Anderson, Kyle Patterson, Susan Williams, Bob Mele, Benson Kelly, and Leonard Harjo) are recruiting other native students and working to provide an atmosphere of political, social, and cultural awareness. Both male and female applicants are eligible, and financial aid is available to meet needs. The group is planning for a spring conference of Indian college students and others on the East Coast. Contact: Kyle Patterson, Lowell House L-23, Harvard University, Cambridge Massachusetts 02138 or telephone (617) 498-3016.

AN URGENT MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIA

A cable received December 12 from Australia reads:

CONSORTIUM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF AUSTRALIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS TO GAIN BAUXITE MINING RIGHTS AT AURUKUN IN CAPE YORK NORTH QUEENSLAND. *REQUEST ANY ACTION POSSIBLE. PROTEST AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY.

For years now, international mining firms have tried to rip-off land belonging to Australian aborigines. The current government had been somewhat helpful in protecting aboriginal rights, but it recently was dissolved by the Governor-General when a bill failed to pass the Senate. While AKWESASNE NOTES will do a full article on this matter, the cable requests urgent action. Persons in large cities can look up "Australia' 8n their telephone directory for trade commissions and consulates. The Australian Embassy in Washington, D.C. is (202) 797-3000, and in Ottawa, Canada, it is (613) 236-0841.

RESOURCES

1976 NATIVE AMERICAN CALENDER READY

The new AKWESASNE NOTES calendar for 1976 is ready now. The first printing of 10,000 was sold out before the presses stopped running, and another run of 10,000 is arriving as this issue of the newspaper goes out. The theme for this coming year is the sovereignty of our native nations, meaning how to be a human being on this earth, sort of our answer to the U.S. Bicentennial.

Each month has its own handsome poster-size drawings by Kahonhes, Clayton Brascoupe and Carl Winters. A reduction of one month's drawing is at the right. Important events affecting native Americans are recorded on the days on which they occurred throughout history. The cycles of our grandmother, the moon, are given in different native languages, and the phases of the moon are noted. The calendar is large – 17 x 22 inches – and each page is a separate work of art, suitable for framing long after 1976 has passed. It will fit in nicely in homes, social centers, places of work.

But order now, before this printer's run has been exhausted, so your calendar will be on hand by January 1.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed in a separate tube to an address you have supplied to us, with a gift card with your name and message enclosed. Or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way.

Native organizations can use the calendars for fund-raising – in quantities of 50 or more, there is a 50% discount, plus shipping costs. Many groups use this as a major income for their programs – and it helps AKWESASNE NOTES to survive as well. The same discount applies to bookstores, student groups, even individuals – but again, early ordering is important so we can anticipate the proper supply.

We Are Sovereign Peoples. We Share Our Mother, This Earth, With Many Free Creatures Who Still Follow Their Original Ways.
They Provide Us Strength, Guidence, And An Example Of Living In The Circle Of Life.

Single calendars are $3 each, mailed in cardboard tube to ensure that it reaches you in good condition. You can order now from:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 358-4697

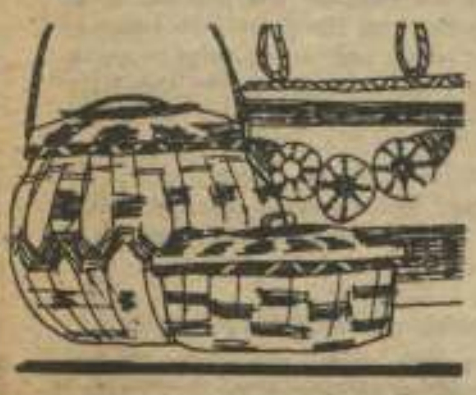
One of the pages of the AKWESASNE NOTES 1976 Calendar (reduced size)

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive in tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more modern and fancy, like the strawberry basket, sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, to mention a few. They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 24"-high pack-basket.

There is also beadwork: nice earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chockers and others. Leatherwork is limited, but there are some headbands, bracelets, and belts.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising. For a church bazaar, pow-wow, trading post, coffee party, order a 30-day consignment. It will have retail price tags totalling about $133, and you will be billed for $100. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any unsold items, or pay for those sold. Paid-for unsold items can be returned for full credit or refund at any time.



INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK – blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos – is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are $1.15 each, or 3 for $3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos – just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for $25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

SOUNDINGS FROM AKWESASNE: The history of the Longhouse and occupation of islands in the St. Lawrence River in 1970. 30 minutes.

SELF DETERMINATION, COLONIALISM, AND CAPTIVE NATIONS: "How can we re-liberate without becoming one of the conquerers when we achieve it?" When power alone determines what you can do, it is a disease that spreads." The history of the past five centuries is the history of conquest od democraticfolk societies by Machivellian greed-based conquerors. But the conquest came after 4,000 years of resistance which continues today. A lecture by Dr. Jack Forbes. 45 minutes.

HARRY BELAFONTE: tells an AIM rally in St. Paul that his freedom depends upon the freedom of the native peoples. A man who left his career as a singer to assist in electoral politics explains how Wounded Knee changed his own perspective on America. 30 minutes.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S CARAVAN & EMBASSY: If anyone still believes the myth that Canada's relationship with native people is les violent than that of other imperial nations, this program will help them to re-evaluate the armed truce. It traces the origins of the Native People's Caravan which reached Ottawa on September 30, 1974, and culminated in the first use of Canada's RCMP riot squad. Also on the founding of the Native People's Embassy. 30 minutes.

WILLIE DUNN: Stereo folksinging of Willie Dunn, a Miomac/Metis folksinger, with a Grass Dance Song & Chief's Song by Jerry Saddleback. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name plus Louis Riel, Charlie Wenjack, School Days, Crazy Horse, The Carver. Full album. $5.

RUSSELL MEANS TALKS: about the AIM patrol in Minneapolis which got the organization underway; AIM's relationship to the church, plus a statement of AIM's spiritual foundation. 30 minutes.

GLADYS BISSONETTE, LOU BEAN & GRACE BLACKELK – Three Oglala women active in the occupation tell of reservation conditions and their fight for self-determination. 45 minutes.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LAND CLAIM – The Indian peoples of B.C., after pressing their land claim for 98 years, have gained some recognition of their claim through the courts and the Canadian Parliament in 1973. This tape reviews the claim, the court decision in the Nishga case, and the government response as background to what is happening in B.C. right now. 60 minutes.

THREE MESSAGES FROM RAY FADDEN: History of the Iroquois Confederacy, Contributions of Indians, Problems, by the elder of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, New York. Excellent for schools. 45 minutes.

RAMONA BENNETT/PUYALLUP NATION. A relevent message of her people by a leader of her nation, and the struggle to build a life on the last remaining treaty right – the right to fish. The account of the struggle of the people – and the fish – for survival. 30 minutes.

THE POETRY OF GARY SNYDER. Gary Snyder, a long-time spokesman for the natural world, reads his poetry at a benefit for the Committee of Concern for the Traditional Indian at Glide Church in San Francisco. Included are many selections from his recent book, "Turtle Island," which earned for him the 1975 Pulitzer Prize in poetry. Also included are two poems by Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud, "Last Boat to Alcatraz" and "Coyote Man and the Young Lady". Recorded January 19, 1973. 60 minutes.

VERNON BELLECOURT – The national field director for the American Indian Movement speaks of AIM's spiritual roots, the work in which it first began, and where it is going now. Material was recorded during Wounded Knee occupation and after the recent FBI assault on Oglala. 45 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM, & YOU: Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC organizer and now with the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party headquartered in West Africa, came to give his support to the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul. This program is a recording of speeches by William Kunstler, Russell Means, and Stokely on the meaning of revolution, the relationship between the Third World and native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

BUFFY STE. MARIE: talks with Brunelda Wheeler and describes her childhood and her return to her community on the prairies. She stresses the importance of each person finding their own way in the native world. 15 minutes.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE, 1973: The People Are Standing Up. The story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. 282 pages, $4.95.

BIA: I'M NOT YOUR INDIAN ANY MORE: with the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties. $1.95, 96 pp, paperback. 8½ x 11. The story of the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1972. The book also contains the position paper of the group which could revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships – plus the official White House reply, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard throughout the 1970s – or until it demands have been granted. It needs to be understood – and acted on – by every U.S. citizen and every native person.

TIAHUANACO MANIFESTO proclaimed by Native People of Bolivia. 8 pages, 25 cents.
Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Ayama cultures today, with a recap of the Spanish Conquest and the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. An INDIGENA series.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS. This pamphlet should be discussed thoroughly by all students of anthropology, by church officials, and all concerned people. The declaration is a beacon for the role of non-native scholars and missionaries who wish to associate with native peoples. 25 cents.

NATIVE COLOURS, a book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet – a colorful presentation. 88 pages. $2.50.

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE, the Iroquois Constitution, giving the law that tells the way followed by Iroquois councils for a thousand years now. It was this government that created a United Nations in North America that still exists. It was this government, too, that gave its ideas to the United States of America when it was just a baby 200 years ago. This translation into English is illustrated by Kahonhes. 84 pages, $1.00.

All resources listed here are available from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Please add a small amount to your order to help with postage and handling.

All resources listed here are also available in wholesale quantities at standard discounts for resale in bookstores, shops, and by organizations.

Also, AKWESASNE NOTES mails books to native people and other devotees of the newspaper. If you can, add a dollar or two to your book order – we will match it with an equal amount of our own and send a book or books to brothers and sisters behind bars.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

24 *Shrine of Hypocrisy*

2 *Chief Joseph*

3 *Wounded Knee*

22 *Campesinos*

5 *Zuni Governor*

6 *Sitting Bull*

7 *Three Sisters*

8 *Grandma Hunter*

9 *Poundmaker*

23 *Wintu Woman*

11 *Family Portrait*

12 *Three Horsemen*

13 *Fire Carrier*

14 *La Raza*

15 *Dan Katchongva*

16 *Our Ideas*

17 *Statue of Liberty*

18 *Signs of the Times*

19 *Flathead Chief*

20 *Rush-Gatherer*

21 *Bear-Belly*

25. Circle of Life (last issue). 26. Crow Dog (this issue)

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows -- 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25.
Order from AKWESASNE NOTES. Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Friends, we have received many orders for Migration of the Iroquois *and* A Message For All People: Hopi Prophecy. *Both booklets are being reprinted at this time, and orders will be sent out as soon as the books are in from the printers, probably not until February 15.*

The pamphlet, "A Hard Look At American Catholic Folklore" by Richard Lundstrom is also out of print. It will be reprinted together with the article in this issue by Lundstrom in the "Best of Akwesasne Notes" series, and will be available around March 1, probably for 50 cents.

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE is also now in short supply – we will ship orders until the supply is exhausted, and then wait until a new shipment has been received from the printer, probably about February 1. If you order VOICES and do not receive a copy immediately, this is the reason for the delay.

Snow Bird
Red Dog

INDIGENA PAMPHLET SERIES

[INDIGENA people cooperate with AKWESASNE NOTES in the publication of pamphlets on the native peoples of the Americas. INDIGENA also has its own publications available from POBox 4073, Berkeley, California.]

The following pamphlets are available for 25 cents each:

THE SITUATION OF INDIAN PEOPLES IN GUATEMALA: A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by those who have taken another way and foreign interests.

TIAHUANACO MANIFESTO proclaimed by Native People of Bolivia. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Ayama cultures today, with a recap of the Spanish Conquest and the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken.

THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN COLOMBIA: a strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s, and like the others in this series, strikingly illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto of the women.

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN BRAZIL TODAY: Outlines the nature of the genocidal war being waged against native people of the Amazon. Destruction of communities is documented.

BOOKS TO PRISONERS: Native people and other devotees of AKWESASNE NOTES who are imprisoned need reading material badly – and often they do not have the finances to make purchases. If you can, add a dollar or two to your book order – we will match it with an equal amount of our own and send a book or books to brothers and sisters behind bars.

I am an artist
I paint pictures of love
upon the fallen leaves . . .
words brimming with colour
are left on mushrooms for
travellers of the wood
to read . . .

NATIVE COLOURS, a book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Karoniaktatie was poetry editor for AKWESASNE NOTES. We are proud to publish this book, illustrated and designed by the poet – a visually-beautiful & colorful presentation. 88 pages. $2.50 postpaid.

Available at discount in quantities.

RESOURCES

BOOKS

This is a partial listing of books available through AKWESASNE NOTES. Still more titles were listed in the last issue, and more titles will be listed in the next issue.

Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available for resale at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet – or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.

POEMS FROM THE PEOPLE

COME TO POWER, edited by Dick Lourie. Some good new contemporary native poets, with a knowledgeable introduction by Joseph Bruchac. $3.95.

FOR NO ONE KNOWS WASWANIPI by Hugo Miller. A collection of songs and poems about the inland Cree of James Bay. With photos. $2.75, including:

> The white man always asks the same
> And makes his paper fuss
> Why don't you drop those Indian claims
> Why can't you be like us?
> Why don't you get a job, they say
> Why don't you, why, why, why – ?
> But in their heart we hear them say,
> Why don't you people die.
>
> – Hugo Millar

THE INDIANS' BOOK recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. A standard work in ethnomusicology from earlier this century, with 149 songs in full notation, with other material on native cultures. 585 p., $5.00.

THE MAGIC WORLD, edited by William Brandon. Imaginative translations, with an excellent introduction on the nature of native poetry. Highly recommended, $2.95.

THE IROQUOIS

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS by Edmund Wilson. A white writer's impressions of Longhouse people he contacted in the 1950s, showing the roots of current thought and activism. $1.95, paperback, 300 pages.

THE IROQUOIS by Frank Speck. Nice photographs of Iroquois crafts and a survey of the culture. 95 p., paperback, $2.00.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cookbook, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit. 179 p., hardcover only, $7.50.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by Barbara Graymount. Although from a non-Indian perspective, this is a useful scholarly work for Bicentennial reading. 296 p., hardcover, $13.00.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS: Collected Work of Arthur C. Parker, edited by Wm. Fenton. Contains Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants; The Code of Handsome Lake, and The Constitution of the Five Nations. A valuable reference work. NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK at $4.95.

THE NATIONS

CHEYENNE MEMORIES by John Stands in Timber. The recounting of Cheyenne traditions by a keeper of the oral literature of that nation. $2.25.

CHICKASAWS by Arrell M. Gibson. The first book-length history of the Chickasaw Nation, recounting their 350-year struggle to maintain their identity. Hardcover only, $8.95.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN COLONIAL NEW YORK: The Seventeenth Century, by Allen Trelease. Retracing the early steps of European intrusion on Great Turtle Island. A goodly portion of the book deals with the Iroquois. Hardcover only, $12.00.

OJIBWA WOMAN: Male and Female Life Cycles Among the Ojibwe Indians of Western Ontario, by Ruth Landes. An ethnologic field study, rather than the vies of a participant, but still contains some valuable insights. Paperback, 245 pages, $2.25.

PENOBSCOT MAN by Frank G. Speck. The story of Penobscot life: shelter, hunting, fishing, travel, food, arts and social life. Hardcover only, $12.50.

THE SAN CARLOS STORY & UPDATE: a compilation of articles in the *Arizona Daily Star* on the hard times and corruption and situation of the Apaches. $1.75.

THE SUN DANCE PEOPLE: The Plains Indians, Their Past and Present, written and photographed by Richard Erdoes. A sensitive portrait of a people in struggle. 215 pages, paperback, $1.50.

LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS by George Catlin. A noted artist who took extensive notes of his 19th Century travels on the lives of the people who treated him so well. In two volumes, each $4.00. Total of 530 pages, 312 illustrations.

MIDDLE FIVE by Francis LaFlesche. Life as a student in a Presbyterian Mission School in northeastern Nebraska at the time of the U.S. Civil War. Two-culture struggle in a classic of native American literature. Especially recommended to high schools and upper grades as a corrective to Hollywood's "movie Indian" distortion. $2.50.

THE MOJAVE OF THE COLORADO: Pages of History. A pamphlet of 24 pages, illustrated. 50 cents.

MY LIFE AS AN INDIAN by J.W. Schultz. The story of a white man's sojourn among the Blackfoot, marriage with a Blackfoot woman, hunting and fighting. $1.25.

NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA & NEVADA: A Handbook by Dr. Jack D. Forbes. Includes discussion on basic concepts for understanding native history. 197 p., paperback, $4.95.

THE NETSILIK ESKIMO by Asen Balikci. An anthropological view of the People of the Seal. $3.95.

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA by Harold E. Driver. Native civilizations from the artifacts of daily life, from the Arctic to Panama at the high points of their histories. 25 plates, 44 maps. Good for anthropology students. $7.95.

INDIANS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST, edited by Tom McFeat. Seventeen anthropologists go at it on the coast, telling how they see it from the Canadian border to southeastern Alaska. Some have insight, others not much, but the richness of life shines through. Paperback, $2.95.

INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST by Philip Drucker. Natural History Series. A comprehensive study of the people from Yakutat Bay to the northern coast of California. Illustrated with 70 drawings and photographs. Paperback, $2.50.

INDIANS OF THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES: 1615-1760, by Vernon Kinietz. Based on the letters and journals of European traders, missionaries, and officials who visited the Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa in the years before European contact had changed the life-style. 425 p., paperback, $2.95.

ISHI, LAST OF HIS TRIBE by Theodora Kroeber. One by one, the Yahi died until there remained a single survivor – the man who became known as Ishi. 95 cents.

THE WORK OF THE HANDS

AMERICAN INDIAN AND ESKIMO BASKETRY: A Key To Identification by Charles Miles and Pierre Bovis. Hardcover special offer, $3.00.

AMERICAN INDIAN NEEDLEPOINT DESIGNS For Pillows, Belts, Handbags, and Other Projects, by Roslyn Epstein. Grid backing makes designs easily transferrable to canvas – useful for beadwork, too. 37 designs. $1.50.

AMAZON INDIAN DESIGNS by Hjalmar Stolpe. 190 designs from Brazilian and Guianan wood carvings. $2.25.

WHEN CLAY SINGS by Byrd Baylor, illustrated by Tom Bahti. An excellent gift book singing poetically of the natural way of life expressed in pottery. Great meaning for kids. Hardcover only, $4.95.

DESIGNS ON PREHISTORIC HOPI POTTERY by Jesse W. Fewkes. Sikyatki and its pottery: artifacts formed before Spanish and other European elements were involved. 67 plates, 195 text illustrations. $3.50.

INDIAN BLANKETS & THEIR MAKERS by George James. Owner's manual or wish-book, with excellent photographs. $5.00.

PRE-HISPANIC MEXICAN STAMP DESIGNS by Frederick V. Field. More than 600 beautiful designs from ancient clay cylinders. These designs can be used on graphics, textiles, leather, metal, and ceramics. $4.00.

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. An analysis of a well-known and frequently-used design, known as the "Rainbird". 176 illustrations, 113 p., $2.50.

PUEBLO POTTER: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art. 160 p., 38 color plates and hundreds of two-color illustrations, paperbound. How the personal element is expressed in a time-honored structure of symbolism. $3.00.

TSIMSHIAN INDIANS AND THEIR ARTS by Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert. A study of a creative culture and the role of art in life. 91 pages, paperback, illustrated. $2.95.

BIOGRAPHIES

ASHINI, by Yves Theriault. The fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais hunter, concerning his relations with nature, his own people, and the white world. $2.50.

LOUIS RIEL by George Stanley. The life of the founder of Manitoba, the leader of the Metis, and one of the most remarkable figures of Canadian history, whose dream still lives. 400 p., paperback, $4.95.

NO FOREIGN LAND: The Biography of A North American Indian, by Wilf Pelletier and W.G. Poole. Tells of life on and off the reservation, encounters with racism, and awareness of Indian identity, told by a native philosopher. Hardcover only, $6.95.

POUNDMAKER, by Norma Sluman. Life of a great Cree orator and peacemaker who lived in the mid-1800s. 301 pages, hardcover only, $7.95.

STRANGE EMPIRE, by Joseph Howard. A biography of Louis Riel – an important part of history movingly told. A lengthy highly-readable book. Softcover, $5.95.

TATANGA MANI, by Grant MacEwan. Chief Walking Buffalo of the Stoney Nation and western Canadian history as it happened around him. A teacher for our time. $3.95.

TENDOY, CHIEF OF THE LEMHIS, by David L. Crowder. Tendoy thought it best to kow-tow to every white interest to save his people, and would probably today be called an Apple. When people talk about "cooperation", have them read this book, and ask what Tendoy's people gained. $2.75.

LEGENDS, FABLES, MYSTERIES

SON OF RAVEN, SON OF DEER by George Clutesi. Twelve fables of the Tse-shaht, West Coast People. A good children's book. Hardcover, $4.95.

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. 57 photos and the legends to go with each pole. Where literature and art combine. $3.95.

THE WORLD'S RIM: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians by Hartley Burr Alexander. Native philosophy. $1.95.

NOVELS

CHEYENNE AUTUMN by Mari Sandoz. It was September, 1878. The Cheyennes numbered 278, the soldiers numbered 10,000. This book is a tribute to their 1,500-mile trek. Paperback, $1.65.

FIG TREE JOHN by Edwin Corle. An embittered Apache's struggle to raise an Apache son in the face of "civilization". Although Corle takes extreme literary license in converting a real-life California native man into a novel of an itinerant Apache, it is a tense and exciting character study. Paperback, $2.45.

I HEARD THE OWL CALL MY NAME by Margaret Craven. About a young priest with two years to live, and the Kwakiutl People who teach him much about life – and who are paying the price for the death of their nation in the process. The recent TV dramatization is from this book. $1.25 paperback.

LAUGHING BOY by Oliver LaFarge. A classic rendering of Navajo life, poetically and hauntingly told. Pulitzer Prize novel. $2.45.

N'TSUK, a novel by Yves Theriault, translated by Gwendolyn Moore. A fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais woman, who compares her life with urban people. $2.25.

OWL'S SONG by Janet Campbell Hale. A native American's first novel: Billy White Hawk against the white world. A sensitive portrayal of a 14-year-old's struggle to remain Indian. $4.50 hardcover only.

SEVEN ARROWS by Hyemeyohsts Storm. A controversial novel of the Cheyenne which has provoked both great affection and strong disgust. The hardcover edition is $12.95, and the softcover is $6.95.

SOUL CATCHER by Frank Herbert. Another youth, caught between two worlds, decides upon retribution for his people in a spell-binding novel you won't put down. $1.25.

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By special arrangement with the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, we are distributing NIB publications. They have relevance throughout North America, and will give fresh ideas to the "U.S." native scene.

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION. A yet-to-be implemented policy paper presented to Canada's Minister of Indian Affairs. $2.00.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE OF CANADA AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT. Native people give their words on what progress has done and will do to the land and its people. $2.00.

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THE JAMES BAY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: A Trojan Horse, by Dorothy Rosenberg and Lucia Kawaluk. A pamphlet reprinted from *Our Generation* describing how this project is as disastrous for white folk as it is for the native people who will be displaced. 25 cents.

MINAMATA by W. Eugene Smith and Aileen M. Smith. The story of the poisoning of a city on a Japanese island, and of the people who chose to carry the burden of courage. "The morality that pollution is criminal only after legal conviction is the morality that causes pollution." Photographs you will never forget. $10.00, softcover.

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GAMES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS by Stewart Culin. This volume contains virtually everything known about Indian games and illustrates thousands of objects used in the games. Reprinted from old Bureau of American Ethnology texts. 846 pages, $9.95 paperbound.

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES by Lewis H. Morgan. House architecture of the native peoples of North and Central America, and its relation to family form. Written a century ago. 56 illustrations, $2.95.

INTERNATIONAL WORKGROUP

The International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs is a non-political non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries. It publishes a series of pamphlets of case studies which are valuable as resources, and for use by anthropology classes, and makers of change.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS: co-published by AKWESASNE NOTES. A statement on the role of anthropologists and churches in preventing oppression. 8 pages, 25 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: THE CAMPA CASE by John Bodley. Co-published by AKWESASNE NOTES. 15 pages, 40 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION (1957-1973). 44 pages, $1.20.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLOMBIA by Bernard Arcand. 28 pages, 70 cents.

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. 29 pages, 70 cents.

THE ANATOMY OF A LAND INVASION SCHEME IN YEKUANA TERRITORY, VENEZUELA by Walter Coppens. 24 pages, 70 cents.

THE ACHE INDIANS: GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY by Mark Munzel. Manhunts, 1975-style systematically reduce the Ache. 82 pages, $2.00.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE YE'CUANA ("Macquiritare") POLITICAL SYSTEM: Stability and Crisis. 24 pages by Nelly Arvelo Jiminez. 70 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE ALTO MARANON: THE ARUARUNA CASE by Henning Siverts. 82 pages, $1.80.

THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Example of The Xingu National Park by Carmen Junqueira. How the Brazilian Government violates its own policies, causing the extermination of native peoples. $1.00.

NATIVE PEOPLE IN AREAS OF INTERNAL NATIONAL EXPANSION: Indians and Inuit in Canada, by Douglas E. Sanders. Legal issues raised by modern-day Manifest Destiny. $1.00.

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HYDRAULIC DEVELOPMENT AND ETHNOCIDE: THe Mazatec and Chinantec People of Oaxaca, Mexico, by Alicia Barabas and Miguel Bartolome. Capitalist development means ethnocide as a nation's broad economic and political goals serve the needs of the Mexican state. 50 cents.

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BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Aripuana Park by Jean Chiappino. 50 cents.

INDIANS OF EASTERN BOLIVIA: Aspects of their Present Situation, by Jurgen Riester. $2.00.

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A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota puts out some of the nicest pamphlets suitable for pleasant reading at home and in schools. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. They are 25 cents each, or six (our choice) for $1.25.

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MANABOZHO POEMS – poems about one of the great heroes of the Eastern Native People by Joe Bruchac.

NORTHWEST COAST SONGS – free adaptations by David Cloutier, based on traditional texts.

"IN OLD AGE REMEMBERING ..." – Poems, pictures, prose.

THE KOKOPILAN CYCLE, by Michael Castro. Tales of the Hopi.

TO ORDER: Send check or money order to AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683 U.S.A.

An Example of Active Readers

FRIENDS: My wife and I have been reading your newspaper. For years, I have been concerned about the Indian situation. Also for years I have put off doing anything about it by telling myself that I didn't know what to do about it. After reading NOTES I have decided that it is time to get off my ass and find out exactly what I can do.

We have ordered some papers from you and we are selling them. Also posters are selling very well. This is fine, but we feel that it is not enough. We would like to place an ad in our local newspapers and go to church groups and get people together at our house to let them know and make them aware of what is going on with native Americans in this country. We are also talking to social studies teachers at the local high schools to see if they will use NOTES in their work.

Charlie & Anna Benoit
Southbridge, Massachusetts 01550

The Plight of the European

FRIENDS: I hope that this letter does not seem too misdirected nor out of place, but as it turns out, I know of nowhere else to direct my feelings and believe that you could possibly supply me with much-needed information.

For a long time now, my heart has swelled with the desire for a simple life which is attuned to nature. I believe that there are people today living such a life, but these people lie far removed from me geographically. I need to learn the necessary lessons for such a life, and feel that any attempt to learn these techniques from books would prove far too laborious and time-consuming. While I could learn from books, I would have to continue living in this environment which is neither conducive to nor supportive of my true objectives.

What I need, therefore, is to be around people who could teach me, by their example of living, those things necessary for a simple life in accord with nature. While reading AKWESASNE NOTES, I am confirmed in the belief that many of my sentiments are common to those of the native Americans. In fact, there are times I believe my spirit to be far more akin to the values of the native Americans than to any values to which I have up to now been exposed.

The question is, of course, where does one such as myself go to realize his aspirations? Who do I turn to for assistance and guidance in my attempt to live this kind of life? You mention Indian Way Schools — is there a place for me in such a school? Are there any persons who would be willing to provide me with an opportunity to learn another way of life? I could contribute in some manner, but then again, perhaps my skills would be of no use to your people. I petition you sincerely to offer me some means whereby I may embark on my journey towards a simple life.

John Cinciarelli
268 Montgomery St.
Jersey City, N.J. 07302

A Younger Brother

NOTES: I am white and go to a public school. Kids know that I like Indians and mock me because of it. When I tell them that Indians discovered America and the land belongs to the Indians, they laugh and say that Columbus found America.

I am sick and tired of getting kicked around because I like Indians. Can you help me?

Jamie Warhurst
Emma Willard School
Troy, New York 12181

Chicano Solidarity

BROTHERS & SISTERS: As a Chicano and a person struggling for the liberation of all peoples, I stand in complete solidarity with AIM and all other Indian movements of self-determination. I hope you continue successfully in your efforts to put out an informative newspaper.

Javier Pacheco
Menlo Park, California

Paying the Price for What?

BROTHERS & SISTERS: Perhaps you can answer this question for me. For about 40,000 years, the native peoples of this hemisphere lived in harmony with the Earth and all of her creatures. But the last 400 or so years, what did they do, what spirits did they offend, to cause the brutal vicious racist oppression which continues today?

Please help me to understand what seems to be a disgusting perversion of justice and harmony.

Farrel Sveslosky
Long Beach, California

In Memory of David Roberts, Cache Creek 1973

NOTES: I like to recollect the summer of 1974, especially the conflict at Two Springs Reserve, Cache Creek, British Columbia, and the armed road blockade of Highway 12 which runs through the reserve.

During the first takeover, the headlines in the Vancouver Sun stated, "Indians With Arms Take Over Highway". It appealed to me deeply, knowing that my kind of people had reached that level of exhaustion.

I too was confused of all the muck-muck in the affairs of Indian people. My younger brother, Dave, and I were waiting patiently for a job putting together houses in a BCANSI housing program. We were to fly up north to some isolated spots where housing was needed. But the confusion in the city was running us down — we tried to pass time by inviting ourselves to Indian parties. Bars played an important part of this wasting time.

When we saw the headlines, we were pretty sick of last night's parties. We thought of helping our brothers and sisters at Cache Creek. Messages were calling on all our people to join in the struggles at Cache Creek. Some people provided cars for transportation there. My brother and I were at the drop-in center on Nelson street when one of these messengers came to announce a car would be leaving soon.

In my thinking, I thought of Wounded Knee, which told about an Indian nation's struggle to tell the world that they were still alive. The purpose was good and inspiring and spiritual. All this was in my mind about an armed takeover: the seriousness of it, the dedication, the ability to work as a team to make efforts, to see realistically, and so forth. Particularly in the spiritual sense, there was a need for strength and protection.

My mind could never be taken off that matter. It brought life into me. Because of the strayed path I had taken, I wanted to dedicate my life for a cause as my last desperate cry of being alive.

I thought of recent happenings back in Moose Factory, Ontario, the frustration of not being heard by my own people because I found another way to live. I guess my happiness over-thrilled me because of the revival of my spiritual sense. Also it led to the conflict of my relatives taking my younger brother with me because he wanted to back me up — he had seen the reality of what our late brother Arthur had gone through. Arthur had been led into being a peacemaker in a drunken brawl which ended up in him being shot at the top corner on the left side of the chest. He suffered a little bit before he passed to the spirit world.

All the ugliness of what my people had gone through brought a bleak picture in my mind and I wanted to cry, but I thought of facing the barrels of rifles bravely as I go down if I was to be hit — this was the chance for me to prove to the people I care of their well-being and to be heard by the ones who live so poorly as they drift helplessly with the society's flow. Dedication was there, so my grandfathers understood my move.

When my younger brother and I were forced to flee from Ontario, I told of my ventures in the spiritual searching, of finding myself. Dave was inspired. Along the way we went to our first powwow, but we saw so much commercialization. Finally, our journey across the land westward took us to Vancouver.

That was how we happened to be in Vancouver. I filled Dave in about the armed occupation of the highway. At the last minute, he made a decision to go. Along the way, I coached him on the situation of it, the seriousness of it all. Importantly, I told him of how warriors prepared long ago, and the stories of the deeds of younger men at Wounded Knee and the spiritual essence wasn't left out, for without that it would be just a grudge fight for materialistic gain and nothing else.

We had only been in the camp a few days when tragedy struck.

Dave was accidently shot through the heart by a hair-triggered rifle. He was my youngest blood brother. So innocent, but searching.

The night before, my brother and I and a sister sat around a campfire telling of past events. I was happy to see and hear my younger brother tell his part of the stories — in my thinking, he was bringing himself out more than usual. He made us laugh and practically cry throughout the night. He was good. He showed some type of leadership in that sense.

His passing made memories in my life. I really loved him. He and I were supposed to go to my teacher's home in northern Alberta and he wanted to learn more of the Indian way of life.

Now he is up in the mountains overlooking the land. I'll never forget the important part he played in my life. He understood. I dream of him and my other younger brother, Arthur, smiling at me. I know they are doing well in the spiritual world — I've been blessed by the grandfathers along with the Creator so I can see the whole purpose of it.

I stayed at Cache Creek until the well-publicized Native People's Caravan came and picked us up. You know, there was a lot of power in that caravan — grandfathers blessed us even at Parliament Hill where truth sprung up about this democratic country of ours. In every major city we entered, we were never ignored. Our aim was to bring out issues which are never dealt with at the people's level.

All these proceedings I let dwell in me because of my belief. I knew suffering. I knew what every Indian family has experienced. I let it flow in me. Everyone had purpose in that caravan.

These things are of grave importance to me and to the coming of the purification of this earth. Sure, our people will suffer. Sure, someday we'll reach our freedom. Sure, we'll be together someday with the forces of nature. Be strong in the faith in the Creator — this strength will give us hope and the dirty part of us will be washed away so that once again we can have a clean living.

My father, James Roberts, and my older half-brother Roy and my younger sister, Judy, and I hope to travel back to British Columbia to pay respects to our David. Any financial help to make that journey a reality will be appreciated by us.

Pray with us as we visit our late brother, David Roberts.

Bert Roberts
c/o Roy Quachegan
Moosonee, Ontario P0L 1Y0

Puerto Rican Freedom Fighter

NATION: Thank you for sending me your wonderful AKWESASNE NOTES, the fine newspaper which I enjoy grandly.

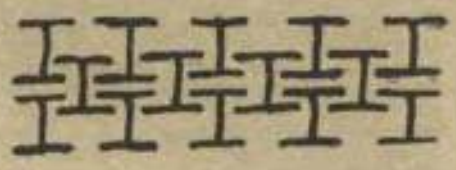
I am a Puerto Rican Freedom Fighter, proud in humble gladness of my Indian blood. The finest vein of my life.

My Country — a Native Indian Nation by heritage — salutes You in solidarity and fraternal Brotherhood. We shall overcome. The Great Spirit Blesses us.

Tu hermana del corezon,

Lolita Lebron
Federal Prison for Women
Box A
Alderson, West Virginia 24910

[On March 1, 1954, as the U.S. was attempting to convert its colonization of Puerto Rico to "commonwealth" status, Lolita Lebron and three other persons brought the situation to the attention of the world as they rose in the gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives, shouting for the freedom of their country, and firing weapons. Five congressmen were injured. Lolita Lebron and the others have been in prison since, making them the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. She has been eligible for parole since 1973, but she has rejected the parole offer rather than accept as a condition of release that she abandon the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. The Editors.]



Relearning Our Ways

Ya'ár'éeh NOTES: You are probably familiar with Navaho Community College. This college is located in Tsaile, Navaho Nation, Arizona Sector. It is a two-year institute of higher education. The college's Board of Regents has charged that NCC Navaho & Indian Studies [should] begin developing their own Native American study materials, because many educational institutions have been using study material which dealt with native Americans as the vanishing people, as a sub-human race, or Native American Studies is treated as anthropological material and taught as such.

I proudly say we native Americans definitely have our own practiced ways of living, believing, and our own concepts on life and ways of economy. I am Dine, Navaho, and certainly have been trying to re-learn the ways of my blood and hope to live by the basic concept of living that Dine have. Because of the public education I received from the non-Indian, I have been put at a disadvantage of not truly knowing the ways of the Dine. The on-coming generations of native Americans should not be put in the same disadvantage some of us have had.

Now, Title III program has undertaken a project to begin developing curriculum study material on Native American Music, Dance, Religion, and Contemporary Indian Affairs. I am writing to ask kindly for your assistance in finding people who would be willing to pass on knowledge about their music, dance, and possibly religious attitudes. We need the names of people from various tribes to become consultants.

Nia Francisco
Navajo Community College
Tsaile, Navajo Nation
(Arizona) 86503

Cleaning Our Personal Ecology

GENTLE EARTH FOLK: I eat only what is provided by the earth. Without cooking or heating, my diet has been raw fruit, nuts, vegetables, grain.

So what, you might say. The earth is being destroyed by the corporate ripoff-mass-production machine. We must stop supporting all destructive merchandise that this monster puts forth. I do not wish to buy a can or jar or package of anything. These outer containers are piling up everywhere, turning this planet into global garbage dump. Wake up!

As locusts devouring the crops, cities are devouring the countryside. Small and large gentlebeings of the animal kingdom are disappearing from the face of the earth. The cry of the wild is so loud it is deafening, but can it be heard above the whine of industry?

What can I do, you may say. Do not take part in the destruction. As quickly as you are able, cease using, buying, consuming all things that destroy our earth mother. Our brothers and sisters are already dying from mercury poisoning, cancer, malnutrition and worse, apathy. Please do not die. Awaken, please. Clean your own personal ecology naturally with the use of raw food in sensible balance.

Aloha nui loa!

Mark Andrew Platt
Kau, Hawaii

Self-Sufficient Freedom

NOTES: By alienating ourselves from the whiteman, we only separate ourselves from the brothers and sisters who are sincerely trying to get in touch with the earth. We can learn from each other.

Many of our sisters and brothers who live on reservations have a severe limited choice of the foods they can eat. Many foods can be grown anywhere! Just because your great-grandparents were hunters and only ate meat is no excuse for eating white man's processed, addicting (sugar), cancer-causing trash. It would cost about one-tenth of two week's worth of trash food for enough seed to plant a garden to feed a family of seven for a whole season.

Get closer to our mother, the earth. Healing the earth should be the first step in unifying all native peoples, or people close to the earth.

To heal the earth, we must be in harmony with our mother, by taking our nourishment as close to her as possible. By using as medicine the medicine plants that come from her bosom, by looking for guidance from our medicine people, whose guidance comes from the Great Spirit.

We must be in harmony with our mother the earth in order to overcome this white man's disease that destroys her animals, that pollutes her waters and air, that fills our ears with the noise of destruction, that is raping our mother.

There is no reason why you have to be continually ripped off by the white man's stores. Start natural food coops to provide basics and trade fresh garden foods. Cut the fat middleman out by direct buying.

Freedom starts by being self-sufficient. You don't have to go to white man's doctors to heal your bodies of naturally-caused illness. Only white man's diseases take white man's cures, and the only way to avoid white man's diseases is by not eating white man's foods and drinking his alcohol.

Tribal Healing Council
Route 1, Rt. 113 East
Milan, Ohio 44846

A WKLDOC Client Speaks

NOTES: I've been fighting for the American Indian Movement the past 2½ years, and as I look back on the road I've been on, I see a lot of costly mistakes.

AIM helped me to gain knowledge of our sacred way of life. This is the direction we should have always taken, but at times, we looked to a human for direction and were led off the road. I guess this supports that one guy's statement, "to err is human."

I feel the time is here now when more and more of our people are learning to respect Grandfather, Mother Earth, and all our relations. Our women are beginning to understand what is sacred and influencing the brothers in a good way. This is where we have to begin — within ourselves, our families, our tribe and our nation.

Would you make a request for the readers that the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committees are doing a wonderful job and any donations would help. They get mostly small checks but it is these that keep our legal staff going.

James Robideau
c/o Wounded Knee Legal Defense/
Offense Committee
POBox 2307
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701

Wayne Lives

NOTES: It appears evident by reading your article about the settlement of Ganienkeh that the Western racist policies brought to this country by Columbus are still strong. This idea of armed raids on peaceful peoples is one of the deep-rooted characteristics of white society and its history throughout the ages.

It appears that John Wayne lives in the hearts of many.

Gene Demuynck
Willingboro, New Jersey

In Defense of Wm. McIntosh

NOTES: I greatly resent your reference on the 1975 Calendar that Chief William McIntosh was a traitor. I hope if you are preparing another calendar for 1976 that you will engage the services of an accurate historian.

Those who assassinated William McIntosh after the signing of the Creek-U.S. Government Treaty for removal of the Creeks from Georgia to Oklahoma were a small faction of the Creeks. Their leader said some years later that he had made a terrible mistake in killing McIntosh.

When McIntosh signed that treaty in 1825, he thought he was doing the best for the Creeks. Life was becoming very sad in Georgia where whites were moving in on Indian land, raping the women, stealing from the Indians, ridiculing Indian ways, selling whiskey, and disrupting the lifestyles of the Creeks. After many years of negotiations with the U.S. Government, McIntosh thought the Creeks had the best plan for preserving their way of life on the promised Indian Territory which was to have been barred from white migration. It was an awesome responsibility that fell upon William McIntosh's shoulders. He was a serious hardworking and sacrificing half-breed, who gave his life for the Creek people. You do him a grave injustice to label him as you did in the 1975 calendar.

Jane McIntosh
Denver, Colorado

[The only reference we see to William MacIntosh is for May 1. It reads, "William MacIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks, fought for the Americans in the War of 1812. He was a prominent leader in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in Alabama. For his part in selling off Creek land east of the Mississippi, he was sentenced to death by the tribal council, and on this date was executed." Jane MacIntosh's letter seems to confirm these facts. As to the role of MacIntosh, we leave it for Creeks to reply to this letter. Editors.]

European Progress

NOTES: My culture brought from Europe has had at most less than 500 years to get used to this place. It's really funny that cattlemen now discover buffalo grow very well here.

My dad told me of an incident which says a lot about the differences in understanding. A psychologist had a puzzle with many complicated parts. He showed the puzzle to a white man who right away picked up parts and tried to force them together. He worked by trial and error, and after several false moves, he accidentally hit upon the right combination. It took him a few hours. Then, the psychologist showed the puzzle to an Indian man, who didn't even touch it for two or three days. He just looked at it once in a while. Then, when he was ready, he picked it up for the first time and in a moment put all the parts in place.

It takes time to do it right, I see.

Joan Cope
Poughkeepsie, New York

The Buffalo Doctor Writes

NOTES: I read with interest your article on the Buffalo-to-the-Indians Project, but I feel the point should be emphasized that an agreement was made in 1965 by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs whereas these buffalo were to go to the Indian people.

I'm having great difficulty obtaining records from the bureaucrats as to how these buffalo were disposed of over the past nine years. We are in the process of circulating petitions to get the information, and to get the projects going. We would appreciate help from any people in the world.

Dwain Cummings, Buffalo Doctor
Rx Ranch Enterprises
4211 S. Brooks Road
Muskegon, Michigan 49444

Scaring The Dog

NOTES PEOPLE: We have won a battle in court stemming from a police raid on our newspaper office and anti-draft union. The cops had no search warrant, but they came in anyway.

We know that the NOTES came under attack from the vicious dog aggression of the government. Because your voice is strong, the vicious dog is scared. We know that voices singing together are very strong.

We are sending you some of our victory money in solidarity. Love and struggle,

Angus Mackenzie
Redwood City, California

Brother-inmates of Raymond Scott at the New Mexico State Prison remember his recent passing, thinking, "In season hanging, the strong wind howls. As the mountain tumbles secrets upon the great river, the redbird becomes one of those flowing secrets now for it is his to deliver the secret wind; to surmount on the winds of the proud eagle, so is he a proud bird in flight, endlessly to soar through the blue-black sky and as a lasting silhouette between the tall pines and the full moon . . Oh, Great Spirit, show us not the aim without the way, for ends and means on earth are so entangled. You change the other, too, and each new path brings other ends in view."

Eddie Doherty, a grandfather to the Madonna House people at Combermere, Ontario, passed on May 4, 1975, on a day holy to his people. A white pine tree links us with roots deep into the earth.

Myron E. Abbott passed into the spirit world on May 31, 1975. May his spirit soar.

Arzilee Langley, a medicine woman of the Choctaw people, passed on November 8 after 100 years of service to her people. She spoke Choctaw, Alabama, Koasati, French, and some English. She was the last speaker of the Mobilian Tsale language.

Pete Beaverhead passed on at his home near Ronan, Montana, at the age of 84, one of the oldest and most revered of the People of the Flathead Reservation, where he lived his entire life with his people and his heritage. Before his passing, he encouraged a cultural program: "We need to help our children and our people now," he said. "The Indian Way is fast going." His people will honor him by living his way of life and in speaking his language.

Jewell Thomas Knopf, an educator in the Bayfield, Wisconsin school system, died at the age of 45 during a remarkable career in teaching her people. A memorium is designated for her in Indian Education at Bayfield. She was Bear Clan.

Behold, I go forth to move around the earth,
Behold, I go forth to move around the earth,
I go forth as the great black bear that is great in courage.
To move onward I go forth
I go forth as the great black bear that is great in courage.
Behold, I go forth to move around the earth.

Angela Lois, the last survivor of the Ona Nation, a people who lived in Tierra del Fuego, passed into the spirit world this autumn. Who will mourn her death and the passing of her people?

Albert Whitebird, of the Odanah Band of Chippewas, passed on to the spirit world August 15. He had worked long and hard for the traditional movement, native rights, and he is remembered by those who heard him speak as a genial, generous, far-sighted individual. When White Roots of Peace people visited his nation, he met them at the boundary of his nation, where he had a fire kindled, to escort them to his home in the Old Ways of his people. He will be recognized by the Old Ones.

Tom Bad Cob, a Lakota chief, passed on in November. He had travelled to Washington, D.C., to meet the President of the U.S. during the siege on Wounded Knee, and again during the siege on Pine Ridge this autumn. Although he was ill and tired, he continued to travel in search of peace and justice for his Lakota Nation. Now others will carry on in his place, mourning his absence.

Ellison "Tarzan" Brown, a Narragansett man who twice won the Boston Marathon and who competed in the 1936 Olympics, was killed after being run down by an automobile in Providence, Rhode Island, late this summer. He was a complex man, who aspired to the traditional life. He was gentle with children, aggressive with enemies, loving of the earth, living simply, and avoiding the demeaning competition of European ways. He was 61, a legendary character in his own lifetime. At least twice, he ran two separate marathons — 26 miles each — in less than 24 hours. His trophies and medals were sold for food and clothing, or given to friends. "I couldn't eat a trophy," he explained. The Narragansetts have lost someone special.

The resettlement at Ganienkeh suffered their first bereavement with the passing of Skahsennati, the wife of Eddie Delaronde, mother to 15 children, and grandmother to over one hundred young ones. She acted as clan mother for the Bear Clan, and was known for her strong spirit and her advocacy of positive action. She is greatly missed by her relatives and her people at Ganienkeh, where the circle of life continues
with two new Ganienkeh infants, born to Eintion and Kakwirakeron on October 17, and to Kanekon'a and Linda Eugene after the snows came.

Urban Indian Notes

NOTES: My children anxiously wait for a copy of NOTES as they say they learn a great deal from you. Our children need posters such as NOTES prints so pictures of native American people may adorn their walls instead of the Beatles or other celebraties.

This so-called "urban Indian" is grateful for NOTES as it keeps me informed of what's happening with other native Americans.

I have felt like a member of the "Lost Tribe" many times, living in an urban area. I tried many times to communicate with my reservation peers, so that I might become involved from afar in what is happening there. After many attempts at this, I finally became involved in helping to establish a Native American Center.

I believe one of the reasons centers such as this were established was for people such as myself, so that we may continue to hang on to what we were taught as children in the 'good old days" on the reservation.

It fills my heart with joy and gladness to see and know the old Indian way of life is being taught to our children. From what I remember, it was a life filled with not much of the material things in the world, but a life of love for one another, a life of Togetherness, and a life of Wisdom taught by the many grandmas and grandpas one child had, and Spiritualism. I'm not very old, but even I can remember all those good things I shared with my brothers and sisters on the reservation. Of the many hurting experiences I've had in life thus far, I only have to remember the good experiences I had as a child and I am able to live another day in this so-called "urban area".

Delphine (Selwyn) Doney
East Helena, Montana

Purification in Prison

HAU KOLA! I have received the gift books that you sent, and I am very grateful for them. They mean a lot to me, not only because they are good material for the mind, but also because they are a gift from my brothers and sisters, the true people.

When I first started writing you, I had no respect for no one whatsoever. I condemned and cut down people for what they did. I had no good thoughts for anything. But through the material you sent me, you have helped me take a good look at myself, and realize a lot of things that I overlooked, or should I say, that I didn't want to look at before. I didn't want to see the truth of myself. But now I can see the truth and accept it for what it is.

I have realized that I not only have a physical body, but a spiritual one that needs exercising as much if not more than my physical one.

More people should look at themselves and be honest and see the real truth — not the truth they wish to see. But they are scared, as I was scared, to see this truth. Once you understand yourself, you understand a lot of things in life.

I am grateful to you — your medicine is good and powerful. Nahahci anpetu waste ca wakiaqnikte. Wakan Tanka nici un.

Jim Manning 37577
2605 State St.
Salem, Oregon 97310

P.S. I want Billy Dean Hawk Wing to write me.

[Readers can help AKWESASNE NOTES send materials to prisons by sending us an extra dollar or two or more designated for this purpose when you order books or write to us. We'll match that money with an equal amount. The Editors.]

Giving A Few Minutes of Hope

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I have something to say to the many readers of NOTES.

In every issue of the NOTES, you will find letters from our brothers who are in prison. At one time, I was one of these people. Now I am free and leading a good life which is filled with much happiness. At last I am one with our mother earth The hate I once felt is now gone and I am at peace with myself.

There are various reasons why I have become this way. The biggest and most important being the help both mentally and spiritually that I received from my brothers and sisters at the NOTES.

People, it does not matter if you know someone in prison or not. What does matter is that by giving a few minutes of your time to write a short letter to some of these people can mean more than all the rehabilitation programs prisons say they have.

James J. Lucas
613 Twelfth St.
Galveston, Texas 77550

Poetry

On My Quest For Singing Stones . . . .
I traveled spirit paths
seeking Medicine Lake
Past The Place Of Pines
and fantasies
I circled high – above
Rainbow Myths –
A Fire Hawk!
Dragonflies hypnotized with sweet grass
Circling
circling
my wings beat against
red bones
on white deserts
and decayed bird tracks
My ears wept
Coyote cries and nested
on Turtle Islands –
everlasting
– P.J. Brown

Great Spirit
deaf no more
can hear you again
the dragonfly of four wings
whispered to me
we are brothers
I hear your voice
in the winds, the trees . . .
rushing thru the tall grass
no longer an orphan
reunited with mother earth
I hugged her to me and
heard the talk of the ants
who never forgot the old ways . . .
and bring the stones

Joe Rice
tahca isnala
6-1-75

A Thousand Lives Beyond

Everywhere I have walked in my long life
flowers bloom, insects hum, birds fly
the movement that is life.
stirs in every desert and in every mountain,
stirs in every stream and the oceans,
stirs in every bluff and gully
and every part of this land.
in every night I look up
the sky is a thousand stars
and that life has moved over the earth
will it move into the sky?
in the day I look up
I do not see the stars
but I know that behind the sun
there are a thousand more goings of life
when life moves beyond the sun
will my children's children go with it?
this night my mind travels a great way
where my mind goes my body will follow

I do not have one short life
I have a thousand lives beyond.

– Chante Tonka
Frank L. Wood '75
Leavenworth, Kansas
Yanktonai dacotah

know all those roads
endless stone & dirt
66 or 99 going west
light up – inhale
grey smoke softly rolls out
thoughts form
in form I laugh to myself
drinking black coffee – again
thoughts form
where you going mexican?
one mile – 29
Grand Forks, Sioux Falls
what you looking for, chicano?
it haunts my mind
en route to New York City
where you going indio?
mocking twisting thoughts
south – Pan American Highway
talk a lot to myself
to my relative – my mother
to my god – in visions
thru all sorts of images
& you know, you know
who I'm talking to?
morning star, brother sun
god and lord of Aztecs
know dawns, many dawns
since childbirth
love to see you rise – another day
& talk, endless talk
with Morning Star

– Juan Reyna

The Quest... is Life

Spirit free
Fly over the mountain
Seek out the valleys and dark places
In my soul

Spirit bound
Sits in regret for lost meanings and days of yesterday
Yearns for freedom

Mind gone
Lost to the meaninglessness of white man's lifestyle
Must find the way again

Spirit free
Come back to me with the recognition of the old people
And the inside of their heart
Fly to me with a mind of meaning

Spirit bound
Brings me to the earth
And binds my soul
All is lost

Fly again over the rivers and the highways
Of the Spirit World
And bring me back to my people

Find again
The reason for being

– Janice Lee Moore
Cherokee-Powhatan
September 2, 1975

little sioux woman

so it is winter again dakota woman

old memories linger beyond snow crested
prairies falcons sharp eye
knotted deep in your throat a death song
speaks of the eternal going in a land where
spring has kept her creation young and strong

faces of elders and warriors who have gone onto
that hanging road remember us in voice of wind

I touch you now on innocent lace of curtain
drawn vacant to expose whiteness of
bone moon

whisper your name pretty moccasins across my naked
shoulders

taste your breath in stillness of december sky
kiss my child with the knowledge of a day
when you sang songs to me

– Walking Behind copyright 1975

SIWLOKI

A fish in this desert!
Would you believe? he swims in sand,
cuts thru currents of igneous rock
with fierce fins, carries volcanic seeds
in his blunt jaws, wields a tornado
in his tailfin, sees thru mountains
with eyes amethyst or beryl or onyx,
and stores drought and monsoon
side by side in turquoise scales:
a mountain stream sounds its swift waters
cold always thru his deep porcelain gills.
(No, I cannot prove. A coyote told me.
You do not believe in coyotes?
All right. No one can force you.)

But once I heard an underwater laugh
near a dry cave with potsherds.
At once, a sand devil – Siwloki –
rose tall into a perfect blue sky,
whirled across the desert, churning
orange dust.
I asked a Papago what it
meant. He looked at me with such eyes,
volcanoes that stayed under, as if I had
asked him to tell me about his mother's
body. Then he smiled, meditating yonder
towards the sacred mountain, Baboquivari.

"Go follow the Siwloki. Where it ceases
to whirl, you will find a rattlesnake,
coiled. Ask the rattlesnake. He
might tell you."

I'm still following the Siwloki:
I'm learning to swim thru sand:
a rattler coils under my tongue:
Baboquivari is a Wave of an Ocean that Knows.

– Will Inman

(This poem was first printed in MINOTAUR I, published by Jim Gove in Alaska.)

My Brother

He shall move out
to vibrant land
where sweet crests of lifting mountains
melt colours to his eyes and
starshine stillness
sifting to earthen meadows, his mind
will free each thought
to race with the wind.

It is true my brother
your dreams spinning westward
moving your soul,
are forever expanding
your strengths.

– Elizabeth Smith
Minnesota

If You Meet My Father

his name is iron priest
he was born on a reservation
he was grown in the city
he loved a black woman
he went back to the reservation
she went back to her people
i am their daughter
with the name iron priest
what is it's meaning?
i know only it's feeling.
i have never heard
the cherokee language
if you meet my father
(his first name is johnny)
tell him his daughter
is an IRON PRIEST

– tsi-ka-gi iron priest

p.s.(you have seen my soul)
(this is a true happening)

Prayer

The earth is beautiful.

The sky is beautiful.

My people are beautiful
and my heart is full.

That worth living for
is also worth dying for.
Hokahey!

– John Laughing Wolf
Missoula, Montana '75